Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ.

THE POURTRACTURE OF HIS SACRED MAJESTIE, IN HIS SOLITUDES AND SUFFERINGS.

With a perfect Copy of Prayers used by his Majesty in the time of his sufferings.

Delivered to Dr. Juxon Bishop of *London*, immediately before his Death.

ROM. 8.
More then Conquerour, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

Printed at *London*, 1649.

The Explanation of the Embleme.

POnderibus *genuus omne mali, probriq; gravatus,*
Vixq; ferenda ferens, Palma *ut* depressa; *resurgo.*
Ac, velut undarum Fuctûs Ventìque, *furorem*
Irati Populi Rupes immotta *repello.*
Clarioré tenebris, *cœlestis stella, corusco.*
Victor æternùm fœlici pace triumpho.
Auro fulgentem *rutilo gemmisque micantem,*
At curis Gravidam *spernendo* calco Coronam.
Spinosam, *at* ferri facilem, *quo* spes mea, *Christi*
Auxilio, Nobis non est tractare *molestum.*
Æternam, *fixis fidei, semperque* beatam
In Cœlos occulis specto, *Mobìsque-paratam.*
Quod vanum *est, sperno; quod Christi* Gratia *præbet*
Amplecti studium est: Virtutis Gloria *merces.*

THough clogg'd with *weights* of miseries,
Palm-like *deprrß'd,* I higher rise.
And as th' *unmoved Rock* out-braves
The boyst'rous *winds,* and raging *waves;*
So *triumph I.* And *shine more bright*
In sad Affliction's darksom night.
That *splendid,* but yet *toilsome Crown,*
Regardlessly *I trample* down.
With joy I take this *Crown* of *Thorn,*
Though *sharp,* yet *easie to be born.*
That *heav'nly Crown,* already mine,
I *view* with *eyes* of faith divine.
I slight *vain* things; and do embrace
Glory, the just reward of *Grace.*

Τὸ χῖ οὐδὲν ἠδίκησε τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲ τὸ Κάππα.

Clarior e tenebris
CRESCIT SUB PONDERE VIRTUS

Gloria
Specto
Christi
Mundi Calco

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ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

1. *Upon His Majesties calling this last Parliament.*

THis last Parliament I called, not more by others advice, and necessity of My affairs, then by my own choice and inclination; who have always thought the right way of Parliaments most safe for My Crown, and best pleasing to my People: And although I was not forgetfull of those sparks, which some mens distempers formerly studied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for some years, I hoped to have extinguished) yet resolving with My self to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober desires, and to redress all publick grievances in Church and State; I hoped (by My freedom and their moderation) to prevent all mis-understandings and miscarriages in this. In which as I feared, affairs would meet with some passion and prejudice in other men, so I resolved they should finde least of them in my self; not

doubting, but by the weight of Reason I should counterpoiz the over-ballancing of any Factions.

I was, indeed, sorry to hear with what partiality and popular heat, Elections were carried in many places; yet hoping that the gravity and discretion of other Gentlemen would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament (guiding some mens well-meaning zeal by such rules of moderation as are best both to preserve and restore the health of all States and Kingdoms:) No man was better pleased with the convening of this Parliament then My self; who knowing best the largeness of my own Heart toward my Peoples good and just contentment, pleased my self most in that good and firm understanding, which would hence grow between me and my people.

All jealousies being laid aside, my own and my Childrens Interests gave me many obligations to seek and preserve the love and welfare of my Subjects; The only temporal blessing that is left to the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest honour and safety, next Gods protection. I cared not to lessen my self in some things of my wonted Prerogative; since I knew I could be no loser, if I might gain but a recompence in my Subjects affections.

I intended not only to oblige my friends, but

Mine

mine enemies also: exceeding even the desires of those that were factiously discontented, if they did but pretend to any modest and sober sense.

The *odium* and offences which some mens rigor or remissnesse in Church and State had contracted upon my Government, I resolved to have expiated by such Laws and regulations for the future, as might not only rectifie what was amiss in practice, but supply what was defective in the constitution: No man having a greater zeal to see Religion setled, and preserved in Truth, Unitie, and Order then my self; whom it most concerns both in pietie and policie; as knowing, that, No flames of civil dissentions are more dangerous then those which make Religious pretensions the grounds of Factions.

I resolved to reform, what I should by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amiss; and to grant whatever my Reason and Conscience told me was fit to be desired; I wish I had kept my self within those bounds, and not suffered my own judgement to have been over-born in some things, more by others Importunities, then their Arguments; my confidence had less betrayed my self, and my Kingdoms, to those advantages, which some men sought for, who wanted nothing but power and occasion to do mischief.

But our ſins being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods Juſtice, from reaping that glory in our Calamities, which we robbed him of in our proſperitie.

For thou (O Lord) haſt made us ſee, That Reſolutions of future Reforming, doe not alwayes ſatisfie thy Juſtice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miſcarriages.

Our ſins have over-laid our hopes: Thou haſt taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpoſe to amend.

When thou haſt vindicated thy glory by thy Judgments, and haſt ſhewed us how unſafe it is to offend thee, upon preſumptions afterwards to pleaſe thee, Then I truſt thy mercy will reſtore thoſe bleſſings to us, which we have ſo much abuſed, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely repentance of our ſins, Thou giveſt us cauſe to Repent of thoſe Remedies we too late apply.

Yet I doe not repent of my calling the laſt Parliament, becauſe O Lord, I did it with an upright intention to thy glory, and My Peoples good.

The miſeries which have enſued upon me and my Kingdoms, are the juſt effects of thy diſpleaſure upon us; and may be yet, through thy mercy, preparatives of us to future bleſſings and better hearts to enjoy them.

O

O Lord, though thou haſt deprived us of many former comforts; yet grant me and my People the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chaſtiſements; that thy Rod as well as thy Staff may comfort us: Then ſhall we dare to account them the ſtrokes not of an enemy, but a Father: when thou giveſt us thoſe humble affections, that meaſure of patience in repentance which becomes thy Children; I ſhall have no cauſe to repent the miſeries this Parliament hath occaſioned, when by them thou haſt brought me and my people unfeignedly to repent of the ſins we have committed.

Thy grace is infinitely better with our ſufferings, then our Peace could be with our ſins.

O thou ſoveraign goodneſs and wiſdom, who over-ruleſt all our Counſels; over-rule alſo all our hearts; That the worſe things we ſuffer by thy Juſtice, the better we may be by thy mercie.

As our ſins have turned our Antidotes into Poiſon, ſo let thy Grace turn our Poiſon into Antidotes.

As the ſins of our Peace diſpoſed us to this unhappy Warre, ſo let this War prepare us for thy bleſſed Peace.

That although I have but troubleſom Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that Kingdom of Peace in my Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Chriſt hath purchaſed, & thou wilt give to thy ſervant (though a ſinner) for my Saviours ſake. Amen.

2. *Upon the Earl of* Straffords *death.*

I Looked upon my Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then ashamed to employ him in the greatest affairs of State.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errors, and many enemies; whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a sphear, and with so vigorous a lustre, he must needs (as the Sun) raise many envious exhalations, which condensed by a popular *odium*, were capable to cast a cloud before the brightest merit and integrity.

Though I cannot in my judgement approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the necessities of times, and the Temper of that people, more then led by his own disposition to any height and rigour of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any such criminousness in him as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of Justice, and malice of his enemies. I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affairs, then in the business of that unfortunate

Earle

Earl: when between my own unsatisfiedness in Conscience, and a necessity (as some told me) of satisfying the importunities of some people, I was perswaded by those that I think wished Me well, to chuse rather what was safe, then what seemed just; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactness of Conscience before God.

And indeed I am so far from excusing or denying that compliance on My part (for plenary consent it was not) to his destruction, whom in My judgment I thought not, by any clear law, guilty of death: That I never bare any touch of Conscience with greater regret: which as a sign of my repentance, I have often with sorrow confessed both to God and men, as an act of so sinfull frailty, that it discovered more a fear of man, then of God, whose name and place on earth no man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniencies of State, by acts of so high injustice, as no publick convenience can expiate or compensate.

I see it a bad exchange to wound a mans own Conscience, thereby to salve State-sores; to calm the storms of popular discontents, by stirring up a tempest in a mans own bosome.

Nor hath Gods Justice failed in the event and sad consequences, to shew the world the fallacy of that Maxime, *Better one man perish,*

(though unjustly) then the people be displeased or destroyed. For,

In all likelihood I could never have suffered, with My people, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Straffords* innocency, at least by denying to Sign that destructive *Bill*, according to that Justice, which My conscience suggested to Me, then I have done since I gratified some mens unthankful importunities with so cruel a favour. And I have observed, that those, who counselled Me to sign that Bill, have been so far from receiving the rewards of such ingratiatings with the People, that no men have been haraſſed & crushed more then they: He onely hath been least vexed by them, who counselled Me, not to consent against the vote of My own Conscience: I hope God hath forgiven Me and them, the sinful rashness of that business.

To which being in My soul so fully conscious, those Judgements God hath pleased to send upon Me, are so much the more welcom, as a means (I hope) which his mercy hath sanctified so to Me, as to make Me repent of that unjust Act, (for so it was to Me) and for the future to teach Me, That the best rule of policie is, to prefer the doing of Justice, before all enjoyments, and the peace of my Conscience before the preservation of My Kingdoms.

Nor

Nor hath any thing more fortified My resolutions against all those violent importunities, which since have sought to gain a like consent from Me, to Acts, wherein my Conscience is unsatisfied, then the sharp touches I have had for what passed Me, in My Lord of *Straffords* business.

Not that I resolved to have imployed him in My affairs, against the advise of my Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whose Guiltlesness I was better assured, then any man living could be.

Nor were the crimes objected against him so clear, as after a long and fair hearing to give convincing satisfaction to the Major part of both Houses; especially that of the Lords, of whom scarce a third part were present, when the bill passed that House: And for the House of Commons, many Gentlemen, disposed enough to diminish My Lord of *Straffords* greatness and power, yet unsatisfied of his guilt in Law, durst not condemn him to die: who for their integrity in their Votes, were by Posting their Names, exposed to the popular calumny, hatred and fury; which grew then so exorbitant in their clamours *for Justice*, (that is, to have both my self and the two Houses Vote, and doe as they would have us) that many ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concur with the condemning party, then satisfied.

tisfied that of right they ought so to doe.

And that after-Act vacating the Authority of the precedent, for future imitation sufficiently tels the world, that some remorse touched even his most implacable enimies, as knowing he had very hard measure, and such as they would be very loath should be repeated to themselves.

This tenderneſſe and regret I find in my soul, for having any hand (and that very unwillingly God knows) in shedding one mans bloud unjustly, (though under the colour and formalities of Justice, and pretences of avoiding publick mischiefs) which may (I hope) be some evidence before God and man, to all posterity, that I am far from bearing justly the vast load and guilt of all that blood which hath been shed in this unhappy War; which some men will needs charge on me, to ease their own souls, who am, and ever shall be, more affraid to take away any mans life unjustly, then to lose my own.

But then, O God, of thy infinit mercies forgive me that act of sinfull compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon me then any man; Since I had not the least temptation of envy, or malice against him, and by my place should, at least so farre, have been a preserver

of

of him, as to have denied my consent to his destruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge my transgression, and my sin is ever before me.

Deliver me from blood-guiltiness O God, thou God of my salvation, and my tongue shall sing of thy righteousness.

Against thee have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight, for thou sawest the contradiction between my heart and my hand.

Yet cast me not away from thy presence, purge me with the blood of my Redeemer, and I shall be clear; wash me with that pretious effusion, and I shall be whiter then snow.

Teach me to learn Righteousnesse by thy Judgements, and to see my frailtie in thy Justice: while I was perswaded by shedding one mans bloud to prevent after-troubles, thou hast for that, among other sins, brought upon mee, and upon my Kingdoms, great, long, and heavy troubles.

Make me to prefer Justice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamours, which are but the discoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome me, to please them by displeasing thee; O never suffer me for any reason of State, to go against my Reason of Conscience, Which is highly to sin against thee, the God of Reason, and Judge of our Consciences.

What

Whatever, O Lord, thou seest fit to deprive me of, yet restore unto me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit; which subjects my will to non: but the light of Reason, Justice, and Religion, which shines in my Soul; for thou desirest Truth in the inward parts, and Integritie in the outward expressions.

Lord, hear the voice of thy Sons, and my Saviours bloud, which speaks better things; O make me, and my People, to hear the voice of Joy and Gladness, that the bones which thou hast broken, may rejoice in thy salvation.

I. *Upon His Majesties going to the House of Commons.*

MY going to the House of Commons to demand Justice upon the five Members, was an act which my Enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exasperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealousies and fears; yea, and many of my Friends resented it, as a motion rising rather from Passion then Reason, and not guided with such discretion as the touchiness of those times required.

But

But theſe men knew not the juſt motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought myſelf ſo furniſhed, that there needed nothing to ſuch evidence, as I could have produced againſt thoſe I charged, ſave onely a free and legall Trial, which was all I deſired.

Nor had I any temptation of diſpleaſure or revenge againſt thoſe mens perſons, further then I had diſcovered thoſe (as I thought) unlawfull correſpondencies they had uſed, and engagements they had made to embroyl my Kingdoms: of all which I miſſed but little to have produced Writings under ſome mens own hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it ſo; yet I wanted not ſuch probabilities as were ſufficient to raiſe jealouſies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly ſtupid and neglective of the publick Peace; which to preſerve, my calling in queſtion half a dozen men, in a fair and legall way (which God knows, was all my deſign) could have amounted to no worſe effect, had it ſucceeded, then either to do Me and my Kingdom right, in caſe they had been found guilty; or elſe to have cleared their innocency, and removed my ſuſpicion: which, as they were not raiſed out of any malice, ſo neither were they in reaſon to be ſmothered.

What

What flames of diſcontent this ſpark (though I ſought by all ſpeedy and poſſible means to quench it) ſoon kindled, all the world is witneſſe: The aſperſion which ſome men caſt upon that action, as if I had deſigned by force to aſſault the Houſe of Commons, and invade their Priviledge, is ſo falſe, that, as God beſt knows, I had no ſuch intent; ſo none that attended Me could juſtly gather from any thing I then ſaid or did, the leaſt intimation of any ſuch thoughts.

That I went attended with ſome Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majeſty and ſafety of a King ſo to be attended, eſpecially in diſcontented times; ſo were my Followers at that time ſhort of my ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more feared at my coming, then I was unaſſured of not having ſome affronts caſt upon me, if I had none to be with Me to preſerve a reverence to Me: for many people had (at that time) learned to think thoſe hard thoughts, which they have ſince abundantly vented againſt Me, both by words and deeds.

The ſum of that buſineſſe was this,

Thoſe men and their adherents were then look'd upon by the affrighted vulgar, as greater Protectors of their Laws and Liberties then my Self, and ſo worthier of their protection. I

leave

leave them to God and their own Consciences, who, if guilty of evill machinations, no present impunity, or popular vindications of them will be subterfuge sufficient to rescue them from those exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obstructions of Justice among men, we must religiously appeal, as being an argument to us Christians of that after unavoidable Judgement, which shall re-judge what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had seen fit, those future commotions which I foresaw, would in all likelyhood follow some mens activity (if not restrained) and so now hath done to the undoing of many thousands; the more is the pity.

But to over-awe the freedom of the Houses, or to weaken their just Authority by any violent impressions upon them, was not at all my design: I thought I had so much Justice and Reason on my side, as should not have needed so rough assistance: and I was resolved rather to bear the repulse with patience, then to use such hazardous extremities.

But thou, O Lord art my Witnesse in heaven, and in my Heart: If I have purposed any violence or oppression against the Innocent: or if there were any such wickednes in my thoughts.

Then

Then let the enemy persecute my soul, and tread my life to the ground, and lay mine Honour in the dust.

Thou that seest not as man seeth, but lookest beyond all popular appearances, searching the heart, and trying the reins, and bringing to light the hidden things of darknesse, shew thy self.

Let not my afflictions be esteemed (as with wise and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my sin, in that matter: more then their Impunity among good men is any sure token of their Innocency.

But forgive them wherin they have done amiss, though they are not punished for it in this world.

Save thy servant from the privy conspiracies, and open violence of bloody and unreasonable men, according to the uprightnesse of my heart, and the innocency of my hands in this matter.

Plead my cause, and maintain my right, O thou that sittest in the Throne, judging rightly, that thy servant may ever rejoyce in thy salvation.

4. *Upon*

4. *Upon the Insolency of the Tumults.*

I Never thought any thing (except our sins) more ominously presaging all these mischiefs, which have followed, then those Tumults in *London* and *Westminster*, soon after the convening of this Parliament; which were not like a storm at Sea, (which yet wants not its terrour) but like an Earth-quake, shaking the very foundations of all; then which nothing in the world hath more of horror.

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power sets bounds to the raging of the Sea: so 'tis no less, that he restrains the madness of the People. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods displeasure against a Nation, then when he suffers the confluence and clamours of the Vulgar to passe all boundaries of Laws and reverence to Authority.

Which those Tumults did to so high degrees of Insolence, that they spared not to invade the Honour and Freedom of the two Houses, menacing, reproaching, shaking, yea, and assaulting some Members of both Houses, as they fancied, or disliked them: Nor did they forbear most rude and unseemly deportments, both in contemptuous words and actions, to my Self and my Court.

Nor

Nor was this a ſhort fit or two of ſhaking, as an ague, but a quotidian fever, always encreaſing to higher inflammations, impatient of any mitigation, reſtraint, or remiſſion.

Firſt, They muſt be a guard againſt thoſe fears which ſome men ſcared themſelves and others withall; when indeed nothing was more to be feared, and leſſe to be uſed by wiſe men, then thoſe tumultuary confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught firſt to petition, then to protect, then to dictate, at laſt to command and over-aw the Parliament.

All obſtructions in Parliament (that is, all freedom of differing in Votes, and debating matters with reaſon and candor) muſt be taken away with theſe Tumults; By theſe muſt the Houſes be purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleaſed to count them) caſt out: By theſe the obſtinacie of men reſolved to diſcharge their Conſciences, muſt be ſubdued; by theſe all factious, ſeditious, and ſchiſmaticall Propoſals againſt Government Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, muſt be backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who-ever had moſt mind to bring forth confuſion and ruine upon Church and State, uſed the midwifery of thoſe Tumults: whoſe riot and impatience was ſuch, that they would not ſtay the ripening and ſeaſon of Counſels, or fair production of Acts, in the order

order, gravity, and deliberateneſſe befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, ſuch as their Inviters and Encouragers moſt fancied.

Yea, ſo enormous and deteſtable were their outrages, that no ſober man could be without an infinite ſhame and ſorrow to ſee them ſo tolerated and connived at by ſome; countenanced, encouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he moſt deſired, for the publick good, then obtain it by ſuch unlawfull and irreligious means? But mens paſſions and Gods directions ſeldom agree; violent deſignes and motions muſt have ſutable engines: ſuch as too much attend their own ends, ſeldom confine themſelves to Gods means. Force muſt crowd in what Reaſon will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrons of Tumults, to ſend for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and tune their clamorous importunities, ſome men yet living are too conſcious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will ſet theſe ſee, That thoſe were no fit means to be uſed for attaining his ends.

But as it is no ſtrange thing for the Sea to rage, when ſtrong winds blow upon it; ſo neither for Multitudes to become inſolent, when they

they have Men of ſome reputation for parts and piety to ſet them ou.

That which made their rudeneſſe moſt formidable, was, that many Complaints being made, and Meſſages ſent by my ſelf, and ſome of both Houſes; yet no Order for redreſs could be obtained with any vigour and efficacie, proportionable to the maligaity of that now far-ſpread diſeaſe, and predominant miſchief.

Such was ſome mens ſtupidity, that they feared no inconvenience; Others petulancie, that they joyed to ſee their betters ſhamefully outraged and abuſed, while they knew their onely ſecurity conſiſted in vulgar flattery: ſo inſenſible were they of Mine, or the two Houſes common Safety and Honours.

Nor could ever any Order be obtained, impartially to examine, cenſure, and puniſh the known Boutefeus, and impudent Incendiaries, who boaſted of the influence they had and uſed, to convoke thoſe Tumults as their advantages ſerved.

Yea, ſome (who ſhould have been wiſer Stateſ-men) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeal, and Induſtry; which to ſober men could ſeem no better then that of the Divel, who *goes about ſeeking whom he may* deceive and *devour*.

I confeſſe, when I found ſuch a deafneſs, that

that no Declaration from the Bishops, who were first fouly insolenced and assaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honor; nor yet from my self could take place for the due repression of these Tumults; and securing not only Our freedom in Parliament, but Our very persons in the Streets; I thought My self not bound by my presence to provoke them to higher boldness and contempts; I hoped by my with-drawing to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous furie, and others regaining some degrees of modesty and sober sense.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Pusilanimitie in any man for popular terrors to desert his publick station. But I think it a hardiness, beyond true valor, for a wise man to set himself against the breaking in of a Sea; which to resist, at present, threatens imminent danger; but to withdraw, gives it space to spend its fury, and gains a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly a gallant man had rather fight to great disadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, then skuffle with an undisciplined rabble.

Some suspected and affirmed that I meditated a war (when I went from *Whitehal* only to redeem my Person & Conscience from violence) God knows I did not think of a war. Nor will any prudent man conceive that I would by so many

many former and ſome after-acts, have ſo much weakned My ſelf, if I had purpoſed to engage in a war, which to decline by all means, I denyed my ſelf in ſo many particulars: 'Tis evident I had then no Army to fly unto, for protection or vindication.

Who can blame me, or any other for a withdrawing our ſelves from the daily baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their fury and diſcontent might not fly ſo high, as to worry and tear thoſe in pieces, whom as yet they but played with in their paws? God, who is my ſole Judg, is my Witneſs in Heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from My houſe at *Whitehall*, if I could have had but any reaſonable fair Quarter; I was reſolved to bear much, and did ſo, but I did not think my ſelf bound to proſtitute the Majeſty of my place and Perſon, the ſafety of my Wife and children, to thoſe who are prone to inſult moſt, when they have objects and opportunity, moſt capable of their rudeneſs and petulancy.

But this buſineſs of the Tumults (whereof ſome have given already an account to God, others yet living, know themſelves deſperatly guilty) time and the guilt of many hath ſo ſmothered up and buried, that I think it beſt to leave it as it is: Only I beleeve the juſt Avenger of all diſorders, will in time make thoſe men, and that City, ſee their ſin in the glaſs of their

puniſhment

Punishment. 'Tis more then an even lay, they may one day see themselves punished by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its first Election and Constitution, sate full and free, the Members of both Houses being left to their freedom of Voting, as in all reason, honor, and Religion, they should have been; I doubt not but things would have been so carried, as would have given no less content to all good men, then they wished or expected.

For, I was resolved to hear reason in all things, and to consent to it so far as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, so are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourses to publick Councels, turning all into disorders and sordid confusions.

I am prone sometimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to any other place in *England*, (as I might opportunely enough have done) the sad consequences, in all likelihood, with Gods blessing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcom in any place; no place afforded such confluence of various and vitious humors, as that where it was unhappily convened. But we must leave all to God, who orders our disorders, and magnifies his wisdom most, when our follies and miseries are most discovered.

But

But thou O Lord art My refuge and defence to thee I may ſafely flie, who ruleſt the raging of the Sea, and the madneſſe of the People.

The flouds, O Lord, the flouds are come in upon Me, and are ready to overwhelm Me.

I look upon My ſinnes and the ſinnes of My people, (which are the tumults of our Souls againſt thee O Lord) as the juſt cauſe of theſe popular inundations which thou permitteſt to overbear all the banks of Loyalty, Modeſty, Laws, Juſtice, and Religion.

But thou that gatheredſt the waters into one place, and madeſt the dry land to appear, and after didſt aſſwage the floud which drowned the world, by the word of thy power; Rebuke thoſe beaſts of the people, and deliver Me from the rudeneſſe and ſtrivings of the multitude.

Reſtore, We beſeech thee, unto Us, the freedoms of Our Councels and Parliaments, make Us unpaſſionately to ſee the light of Reaſon, and Religion, and with all order and gravity to follow it, as becomes Men and Chriſtians; ſo ſhall We praiſe thy Name, who art the God of order and counſel.

What man cannot, or will not repreſſe, thy Omnipotent Juſtice can and will.

O Lord, give them that are yet living, a timely ſenſe and ſorrow for their great ſinne, whom thou knoweſt guilty of raiſing or not ſuppreſſing

thoſe

those disorders: Let shame here and not suffering hereafter be their punishment.

Set bounds to our passions by Reason, to our errors by Truth, to our seditions by Laws duely executed, to our schismes by Charitie, that we may be, as thy Jerusalem, *a Citie at unity in it self.*

This grant, O My God, in thy good time, for Jesus Christs sake. Amen.

C *Upon*

5. *Upon His Majesties passing the* BILL *for the Triennial Parliaments: And after, setling this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.*

THat the world might be fully confirmed in my purposes at first, to contribute what in Justice, Reason, Honour and Conscience I could, to the happy success of this Parliament, (which had in Me no other Designe, but the generall good of My Kingdoms) I willingly passed the BILL for Trienniall Parliaments: which, as gentle and seasonable Physick, might (if well applied) prevent any distempers from getting any head, or prevailing; especially, if the remedy proved not a remedy beyond all remedy.

I conceived, this Parliament would finde work with convenient Recesses for the first three years: But I did not imagine, that some men would thereby have occasioned more work then they found to do, by undoing so much as they found well done to their hands. Such is some mens activity, that they will needs make work rather then want it; and chuse to be doing amiss, rather then do nothing.

When

When that first Act seemed too scanty to satisfie some mens fears, and compass publick Affairs; I was perswaded to grant that BILL of sitting during the pleasure of the Houses; which amounted, in some mens sense, to as much as the perpetuating of this Parliament. By this Act of highest confidence, I hoped for ever to shut out, and lock the door upon all present jealousies, and future mistakes: I confess, I did not thereby intend to shut my Self out of doors, as some men have now requited me.

True, it was an Act unparallell'd by any of my Predecessors; yet cannot in reason admit of any worse interpretation then this, of an extreme confidence I had, That my Subjects would not make ill use of an Act, by which I declared so much to trust them, as to deny my Self in so high a point of my Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it just or fit, that my Condition should be worse, by my bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been so in the events, if some men had known as well with moderation to use, as with earnestness to desire advantages of doing good or evill.

A continuall Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weale in tune, by preserving Laws in their due execution and vigour: wherein My interest lies more then any

mans, since by those Laws My Rights as a KING, would be preserved no less then My Subjects; which is all I desired. More then the Law gives Me I would not have, and less the meanest Subject should not.

Some (as *I* have heard) gave it out, that I soon repented me of that setling Act: and many would needs perswade Me, *I* had cause so to do: But I could not easily nor suddenly suspect such ingratitude in men of Honour, That the more I granted them, the less *I* should have and enjoy with them. *I* still counted my self undiminished by my largest Concessions, if by them *I* might gain and confirm the love of My people.

Of which I do not yet despair, but that God will still bless Me with increase of it, when men shall have more leisure and less prejudice; that so with unpassionate representations they may reflect upon those (as I think) not more Princely then friendly contributions, which I granted toward the perpetuating of their happiness: who are now only miserable in this, That some mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in Gods due time, the Loyal and cleared affections of My people will strive to return such retributions of Honour and love to Me or My Posteritie, as may fully

fully compenſate both the Acts of my confidence, and my Sufferings for them; which (God knows) have been neither few, nor ſmall, nor ſhort; occaſioned chiefly by a perſwaſion I had, that I could not grant too much, or diſtruſt too little, to men, that being profeſſedly my Subjects, pretended ſingular piety, and religious ſtrictneſſe.

The injurie of all Injuries is, That which ſome men will needs load Me withall; as if I were a wilfull and reſolved Occaſioner of my Own, and my Subjects Miſeries; while (as they confidently, but (God knows) falſly divulge) I repining at the eſtabliſhment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hoſtility, to undoe what by my Royall Aſſent I had done. Sure, it had argued a very ſhort ſight of things, and extreme fatuity of minde in Me, ſo far to binde my Own hands at their requeſt, if I had ſhortly meant to have uſed a ſword againſt them. God knows, though I had then a ſenſe of Injuries; yet not ſuch as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then compelled, as ſince, to injure my Self by their not uſing favours with the ſame candour wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threatned to abuſe all Acts of Grace, and turne them into wantonneſſe; but I thought at length their own fears, whoſe black arts firſt raiſed up thoſe turbulent ſpirits,

would force them to conjure them down again.

Nor if I had juſtly reſented any indignities put upon me, or others, was I then in any capacitie to have taken juſt revenge in an hoſtile and warlike way, upon thoſe, whom I knew ſo well fortified in the love of the meaner ſort of the people, that I could not have given my Enemies greater and more deſired advantages againſt Me, then by ſo unprincely inconſtancie, to have aſſaulted them with Armies, thereby to ſcatter them, whom but lately I had ſolemnly ſetled by an Act of Parliament.

God knows, I longed for nothing more, then that my Self, and my Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of my many Condeſcendings.

It had been a Courſe full of ſin, as well as of Hazard and Diſhonor; for Me to go about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which I had ſo lately planted, ſo much (as I thought) to my Subjects content, and mine Own too, in all probability, if ſome men had not feared where no fear was, whoſe ſecurity conſiſted in ſcaring others.

I thank God, I know ſo well the ſincerity and uprightneſs of my own Heart in paſſing that great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times; That although I may ſeem leſs a Polititian to men, yet I need

no

no secret distinctions or evasions before God, nor had I any reservations in my own Soul when I passed it: nor repenting after, till I saw that my letting some men go up to the pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to cast me down headlong.

Concluding, That without a miracle, Monarchie it self, together with Me, could not but be dashed in pieces by such a precipitous fall as they intended: whom God in mercy forgive, and make them see at length, That as many Kingdoms as the Divell shewed our Saviour, and the Glory of them (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining, by ways of sinfull ingratitude and dishonour, which hazards a soul, worth more Worlds then this hath Kingdoms.

But God hath hitherto preserved Me, and made Me to see, That it is no strange thing for men, left to their own passions, either to do much evill themselves, or abuse the overmuch goodness of others, whereof an ungratefull surfet is the most desperate and incurable disease.

I cannot say properly that I repent of that Act, since *I* have no reflections upon it as a sin of my Wil, though an errour of too charitable a judgment: Only I am sorry other mens eys should be evill, because mine were good.

To Thee (O my God) do I still appeale, whose All-discerning Justice sees through all the disguises of mens pretensions, and deceitfull darkenesse of their hearts.

Thou gavest Me a heart to grant much to My Subjects; and now I need a Heart fitter to suffer much for some of them.

Thy will be done, though never so much to the crossing of ours, even when we hope to doe what might be most comfortable to thine and theirs too; who pretended they aymed at nothing else.

Let thy grace teach me wisely to enjoy as well the frustratings, as the fulfilling of My best hopes, and most specious desires.

I see while I thought to allay others fears, I have raised My owne; and by setling them, have unsetled My self.

Thus have they requited Me evill for good, and hatred for My good will towards them.

O Lord be thou My Pilot in this darke and dangerous storme, which never admits My returne to the Port whence I set out, nor My making any other, with that safety and honour which I designed.

Tis easie for Thee to keep Me safe in the love and confidence of My people; nor is it hard for Thee to preserve Me amidst the unjust hatred and jealousies of too many, which thou hast suffered so far to prevaile upon Me, as to be a-

ble

ble to pervert and abuſe my acts of greateſt Indulgence to them, and aſſurance of them.

But no favours from Me can make others more guiltie then My ſelf may be of miſuſing thoſe many and great ones, which Thou, O Lord, haſt conferred on Me.

I beſeech thee, give Me and them ſuch Repentance as thou wilt accept, and ſuch Grace as we may not abuſe.

Make me ſo far happy, as to make right uſe of others abuſes; and by their failings of Me, to reflect with a reforming diſpleaſure upon My offences againſt Thee.

So, although for My ſins I am by other mens ſins deprived of thy temporall bleſſings, yet I may be happie to enjoy the comfort of thy Mercies, which often raiſe the greateſt Sufferers to be the moſt glorious Saints.

6. *Upon His Majesties retirement from* Westminster.

WIth what unwillingness I withdrew from *Westminster*, let them judg, who, unprovided of tackling and victual, are forced to Sea by a Storm; yet better do so, then venture splitting or sinking on a Lee-shore.

I stayed at *Whitehall*, till I was driven away by shame, more then fear, to see the barbarous rudeness of those Tumults, who resolved they would take the boldness to demand any thing, and not leave either my Self, or the Members of Parliament the liberty of our Reason and Conscience to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppression my case alone, (though chiefly Mine;) For the Lords and Commons might be content to be overvoted by the *major* part of their Houses, when they had used each their own freedom.

Whose agreeing Votes were not by any Law or reason conclusive to my Judgment; nor can they include, or carry with them my consent, whom they represent not in any kinde; Nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houses, then I see them agree with

with the will of God, with my just Rights, as a King, and the generall good of my people. I see that, as many men, they are seldom of one minde; and I may oft see, that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to sober and moderate minds, how desirous I was to give all just content, when I agreed to so many Bils, which had been enough to secure and satisfie all; if some mens Hydropick unsatiableness had not learned to thirst the more, by how much more they drank; whom no fountain of Royall bounty was able to overcome: so resolved they seemed, either utterly to exhaust it, or barbarously to obstruct it.

Sure, it ceases to be Counsell, when not Reason is used, as to men, to perswade; but force and terrour, as to beasts, to drive and compel men to assent to what-ever tumultuary Patrons shall project. He deserves to be a slave without pity or redemption, that is content so have the rationall soveraignty of his Soul, and liberty of his Will and words so captivated.

Nor do I think my Kingdoms so considerable, as to preserve them with the forfeiture of that freedom which cannot be denied me as a King, because it belongs to me as a man, and a Christian, owning the dictates of none, but God to be above me, as obliging me to consent

ſent. Better for Me to die enjoying this Empire of my Soul, which Subjects me only to God, ſo farr as by Reaſon or Religion he directs me, then live with the Title of a King, if it ſhould carry ſuch a vaſſalage with it, as not to ſuffer me to uſe my Reaſon and Conſcience, in which I declare as a King, to like or diſlike.

So farr am I from thinking the majeſty of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation Oath in a blinde and brutiſh formalitie, to conſent to whatever its ſubjects in Parliament ſhall require; as ſome men will needs inferr; while denying me any power of a Negative voice as King, they are not aſhamed to ſeek to deprive me of the libertie of uſing my Reaſon with a good Conſcience, which themſelves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publique; who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny, what ever my ſelf, as King, or the Houſe of Peers with me ſhould, not ſo much deſire as enjoyn them to paſs. I think my Oath fully diſcharged in that point, by my Governing only by ſuch Laws, as my People with the Houſe of Peers have Choſen, and my ſelf have conſented to. I ſhall never think my ſelf conſcientiouſly tied to go as oft againſt my conſcience, as I ſhould conſent to ſuch new Propoſals,

fals, which my Reason, in Justice, Honor and Religion bids Me deny.

Yet so tender I see some men are of their being subject to Arbitrary Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themselves give no consent) that they care not with how much dishonour and absurdity they make their King the only man, that must be subject to the will of others, without having power left Him to use His own Reason, either in Person, or by any other Representation.

And if My dissentings at any time were (as som have suspected, and uncharitably avowed) out of error, opinion, activeness, weakness, or wilfulness, and what they call Obstinacy in Me (which not true Judgment of things, but some vehement prejudice or passion hath fixed on My minde;) yet can no man think it other then the Badge and method of Slavery, by savage rudeness, and importunate obtrusions of violence, to have the mist of his Errour and Passion dispelled, which is a shadow of Reason, and must serve those that are destitute of the substance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or man, who seriously endeavours to see the best reason of things, and faithfully follows what he takes for Reason: The uprightnesse of his intentions will excuse the possible failings of his understanding; If a Pilot at Sea cannot see the Pole-star, it can

be

be no fault in him to steer his course by such Stars as do best appear to him. It argues rather, those men to be conscious of their defects of Reason, and convincing Arguments, who call in the assistance of meer force to carry on the weakness of their Counsels and Proposals. I may, in the truth and uprightness of my heart, protest before God and men, That I never wilfully opposed, or denied any thing that was in a fair way, after full and free debates propounded to me by the two Houses, further then I thought in good reason I might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever please me more, then when my Judgment so concurred with theirs, that I might with a good Conscience consent to them: Yea, in many things, where not absolute and morall necessity of Reason, but temporary convenience in point of Honour was to be considered, I chose rather to deny my Self, then Them; as preferring that which they thought necessary for my peoples good, before what I saw but convenient for my Self.

For I can be content to recede much from my Own Interests, and Personall Rights, of which I conceive my Self to be master: but in what concerns Truth, Justice, the Right of the Church, and my Crown, together with the generall good of my Kingdoms: (all which

which I am bound to preſerve as much as morally lies in me;) here I am, and ever ſhall be fixt and reſolute, nor ſhall any man gain my conſent to that, wherein my heart gives my hand or tongue the Lie; nor will I be brought to affirm that to men, which in my Conſcience I denied before God. I will rather chuſe to wear a Crown of Thorns with my Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Me) for one of Lead, whoſe embaſed flexibleneſs ſhall be forced to bend, and comply to the various, and oft contrary dictates of any Factions: when in ſtead of Reaſon, and Publick concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the intereſt of parties, and flows from the particularities of private wils and paſſions.

I know no reſolutions more worthy a Chriſtian King, then to prefer His Conſcience before His Kingdoms.

O my God, preſerve thy ſervant in this Native, Rationall and Religious freedome; For this I beleeve is thy will, that we ſhould maintain: who, though thou doſt juſtly require us to ſubmit our underſtandings and wils to thine; whoſe wiſdom and goodneſſe can neither erre, nor miſguide us, and ſo far to deny our carnall reaſon, in order to thy ſacred Myſteries and Commands, that we ſhould beleeve and obey, rather then diſpute them;

yet doſt thou expect from us, only ſuch a reaſonable ſervice of thee, as not to do any thing for thee, againſt our conſciences: and as to the deſires of men, enjoineſt us to try all things by the touch-ſton of reaſon and Lawes, which are the rules of Civill Juſtice; and to declare our conſents to that only which our Judgments approve.

Thou knoweſt, ô Lord, how unwilling I was to deſert that place, in which thou haſt ſet Me; and whereto the affairs of My Kingdoms at preſent did call me.

My People can witneſs how far I have been content for their good, to deny My ſelf, in what thou haſt ſubjected to My diſpoſall.

O let not the unthankfull importunities, and tumultuary violence of ſome mens Immoderat demands, ever betray Me to that degenerous and unmanly ſlavery, which ſhould make Me ſtrengthen them by My conſent in thoſe things which I think in My conſcience to be againſt thy glory, the good of My ſubjects, and the diſcharge of My own duty to Reaſon and Juſtice.

Make me willing to ſuffer the greateſt indignities and injuries they preſs upon Me, rather then commit the leaſt ſin againſt My Conſcience.

Let the juſt Liberties of My people be (as well they may) preſerved in fair and equall waies, without the ſlavery of My ſoul.

Then

Thou that haſt inveſted Me by thy favours, in the power of a Chriſtian King, ſuffer Me not to ſubject My Reaſon to other mens paſsions, and deſignes, which to Me ſeem unreaſonable, unjuſt and irreligious: So ſhall I ſerve thee in the truth and uprightneſs of My heart, though I cannot ſatisfie theſe men.

Though I be driven from among them, yet give Me grace to walk alwaies uprightly before thee.

Lead Me in the way of Truth and Juſtice, for theſe, I know, will bring Me at laſt to peace and happineſs with thee; though for theſe I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for my Saviours ſake.

7. *Upon the Queenes departure and abſence out of* England.

ALthough I have much cauſe to be troubled at My Wifes departure from Me, and out of My Dominions; yet not Her abſence, ſo much, as the ſcandall of that neceſſity which drives her away, doth afflict Me. That She ſhould be compelled by my own Subjects, and thoſe pretending to be Proteſtants, to withdraw for Her ſafety: This being the firſt example of any Proteſtant Sub-

Subjects, that have taken up Arms against their King, a Protestant: For I look upon this now done in England, as another Act of the same Tragedie which was lately begun in Scotland; the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kinkled the like flames here. I fear such motions (so little to the adorning of the Protestant profession) may occasion a further alienation of mind, and divorce of affections in Her from that Religion, which is the onely thing wherein we differ.

Which yet God can (and I pray he would) in time take away; and not suffer these practices to be any obstruction to Her judgment, since it is the motion of those men (for the most part) who are yet to seek and settle their Religion for Doctrine, Government and good manners, and so not to be imputed to the true English Protestants, who continue firm to their former setled Principles and Laws.

I am sorry my relation to so deserving a Ladie, should be any occasion of her danger and affliction; whose merits would have served her for a protection among the savage Indians: while their rudeness and barbaritie knows not so perfectly to hate all Vertues, as some mens subtiltie doth: among whom I yet think few are so malicious as to hate Her for her Self: The fault it, that She is my Wife.

All Justice then, as well as Affection, commands

mands me to ſtudie her Securitie, who is only in danger for my ſake; I am content to be toſſed, weather-beaten, and ſhipwrack'd, ſo as ſhe may be in ſafe Harbour.

This comfort I ſhall injoy by her ſafety in the midſt of my Perſonall dangers, that I can periſh but half, if ſhe be preſerved: in whoſe memory and hopefull Poſterity, I may yet ſurvive the malice of my Enemies, although they ſhould be ſatiated with my bloud.

I muſt leave her and them to the Love and Loyaltie of my good Subjects; and to his protection, who is able to puniſh the faults of Princes, and no leſs able to revenge the injuries done to them, by thoſe who in all dutie and Allegiance ought to have made good that ſafetie, which the Laws chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civilitie is in vain expected from thoſe that diſpute their Loyaltie: Nor can it be ſafe (for any relation) to a King, to tarry among them that are ſhaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faſter hold on their Religion.

'Tis pitie ſo noble and peaceful a Soul ſhould ſee, much more ſuffer the rudeneſs of thoſe, who muſt make up their want of Juſtice, with inhumanity and impudence.

Her ſympathie with Me in my afflictions, will make her vertue ſhine with greater luſtre,

as

as ſtarrs in the darkeſt nights; and aſſure the envious world, that ſhe loves me, not my fortunes.

Neither of us but can eaſily forgive, ſince We do not much blame the unkindneſs of the Generality and Vulgar: for we ſee God is pleaſed to try both our patience, by the moſt ſelf-puniſhing ſin, the Ingratitude of thoſe, who having eaten of Our bread, and being enriched with Our bounty, have Scornfully lift up themſelves againſt Us; and thoſe of Our own Houſhold are become Our enemies. I pray God lay not their ſinne to their charge: who think to ſatisfie all obligations to duty, by their Corban of Religion: and can leſs endure to ſee, then to ſin againſt their benefactors as well as their Soveraign.

But even that policy of my enemies is ſo farr veniall, as it was neceſſary to their deſigns, by ſcandalous articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to ſeek to drive her out of my Kingdoms; leſt by the influence of her example, eminent for love as a Wife, and loyaltie as a Subject, ſhe ſhould have converted to, or retained in their love and loyaltie, all thoſe whom they had a purpoſe to pervert.

The leſs I may be bleſt with her company, the more I will retire to God and my own Heart, whence no malice can baniſh Her. My enemies may envie, but they can never deprive

me

me of the enjoyment of her vertues, while I enjoy my self.

Thou, O Lord, whose Justice at present sees fit to scatter us, let thy mercie, in thy due time, reunite us on earth, if it be thy will; however bring us both at last to thy heavenly Kingdom.

Preserve us from the hands of our despitefull and deadly enemies; and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.

Though we differ in some things, as to Religion, (which is my greatest temporall infelicitie) yet Lord give and accept the sinceritie of our affections, which desire to seek, to finde, to embrace every Truth of thine.

Let both our hearts agree in the love of thy self, and Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldst have us to know, in order to thy glory, our publique relations, and our souls eternal good, and make us carefull to do what good we know.

Let neither Ignorance of what is necessary to be known, nor unbelief, or disobedience to what we know, be our miserie, or our wilfull default.

Let not this great Scandall of those my Subjects, which profess the same Religion with me, be any hindrance to her love of any Truth thou wouldst have her to learn, nor any hardning of her in any error thou wouldst have cleared to her.

Let

Let Mine and other mens constancie be an Antidote against the poyson of their example.

Let the truth of that Religion I professe be represented to her judgment, with all the beauties of humilitie, loyaltie, charitie, and peaceablenesse; which are the proper fruits and ornaments of it: Not in the odious disguise of Levitie, Schism, Heresie, Novelties, Cruelties and Disloyaltie, which some mens practices have put upon it.

Let her see thy sacred and saving Truths as Thine; that she may believe, love and obey them as Thine, cleared from all rust and drosse of humane mixtures.

That in the glasse of thy Truth Shee may see thee in those Mercies which thou hast offered to us in thy Son Jesus Christ, our onely Saviour, and serve thee in all those holy Duties, which most agree with his holy Doctrine, and most imitable example.

The experience we have of the vanitie and uncertaintie of all humane Glorie and Greatnesse in our scatterings and eclypses, let it make us both so much the more ambitious to be invested in those durable Honours and perfections which are onely to be found in thy self, and obtained through Jesus Christ.

8. *Upon His Majesties repulse at* Hull, *and the fates of the* Hothams.

MY repulse at *Hull* seemed at the first view an act of so rude disloyalty, that my greatest Enemies had scarce confidence enough to abett or own it: It was the first overt Essay to be made, how patiently I could bear the losse of my Kingdoms.

God knows, it affected me more with shame and sorrow for others, then with anger for my Self; nor did the affront done to me, trouble me so much as their sin, which admitted no colour or excuse.

I was resolved how to bear this, and much more with patience: But I foresaw they could hardly contain themselves within the compass of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soon after to overspread the whole Kingdom, and cast all into disorder and darkness.

For 'tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and disloyall undertakers: That bad actions must always be seconded with worse, and rather not begun, then not carried on; for they think

think the retreat more dangerous then the assault, and hate repentance more then perseverance in a fault.

This gave me to see clearly thorow all the pious disguises, and soft palliations of some men; whose words were sometime smoother then oil, but now I saw they would prove very swords.

Against which I having (as yet) no defence but that of a good Conscience, thought it My best policie (with patience) to bear what I could not remedie: And in this (I thank God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no disdain, or emotion of passion transported Me, by the indignitie of his carriage, to do or say any thing unbeseeming My self, or unsuitable to that temper, which, in greatest injuries, I think best becomes a Christian, as coming neerest to the great example of Christ.

And indeed, I desire alwaies more to remember I am a Christian, then a King; for what the Majesty of one might justly abhor, the Charity of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humilitie of a Christian teacheth to forgive, keeping in compass all those impotent passions, whose excess injures a man more then his greatest enemies can; for these give their malice a full impression on our souls, which otherwise cannot reach very far, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but obſerve how God not long after ſo pleaded and avenged my cauſe, in the eye of the world, that the moſt wilfully blind cannot avoid the diſpleaſure to ſee it, and with ſome remorſe and fears to own it as a notable ſtroke, and prediction of divine vengeance.

Firſt, Sir *John Hotham* unreproched, unthreatned, uncurſed by any language or ſecret imprecation of mine, onely blaſted with the conſcience of his own wickedneſſe, and falling from one inconſtancy to another, not long after paies his own and his eldeſt Sons heads, as forfeiture of their diſloyalty, to thoſe men, from whom ſurely he might have expected another reward, then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whoſe hearts with them were divided from their KING.

Nor is it ſtrange that they who employed them at firſt in ſo high a ſervice, and ſo ſucceſsfull to them, ſhould not finde mercy enough to forgive Him, who had ſo much premerited of them: For, Apoſtacy unto Loyalty ſome men account the moſt unpardonable ſin.

Nor did a ſolitary vengeance ſerve the turn, the cutting off one head in a Family is not enough to expiate the affront done to the head of the Common-weal. The eldeſt Son muſt be involved in the puniſhment, as he was infected with the ſin of the Father, againſt the Father of his Country: Root and branch God cuts off in one day.

These Observations are obvious to every fancie: God knows, I was so far from rejoycing in the *Hothams* ruine, (though it were such as was able to give the greatest thirst for revenge a full draught, being executed by them who first employed him against Me) that I so far pitied him, as I thought he at first acted more against the light of his Conscience, then I hope many other men do in the same Cause.

For, he was never thought to be of that superstitious sowreneſse which some men pretend to in matters of Religion, which so darkens their judgment, that they cannot see any thing of Sin and Rebellion in those means they use, with intents to reform to their Models, of what they call Religion, who think all is gold of Piety, which doth but glister with a shew of Zeal and Fervencie.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of another temper, and so most liable to those downright temptations of Ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion to impose upon themselves or others.

That which makes me more pitie him, is, that after he began to have some inclinations towards a repentance for his sin, and reparation of his duty to Me, he should be so unhappie as to fall into the hands of their Justice, and not my mercie, who could as willingly

have

have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favor of M .

For I think clemency a debt which we ought to pay to those that crave it, when we have cause to believe they would not after abuse it, since God himself suffers us not to pray any thing for his mercie, but only praiers and praises.

Poor Gentleman, he is now become a noreable monument of unprosperous disloialtie, teaching the world by so bad and unfortunate a spectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his *S*overaign carries alwaies its own vengeance, & an unseparable shadow with it, and those oft prove the most fatall, and implacable Executioners of it, who were the first Imployers in the service.

After-times will dispute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-hill*; though 'tis certain that no punishment so stains a mans Honour, as wilfull expectations of unworthy actions; which besides the conscience of the sin, brands with most indeliable characters of infamy, the name and memory to posterity, who not engaged in the Faction of the times, have the most impartiall reflections on their actions.

But thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable a way avenged thy Servant, suffer me not to take

any ſecret pleaſure in it, for as his death hath ſatisfied the injury he did to me, ſo let me not by it gratifie any paſſion in me, leſt I make thy vengeance to be mine, and conſider the affront againſt me, more than the ſin againſt thee.

Thou indeed, without any deſire or endevor of mine, haſt made his miſchief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to come down on his own pate.

Thou haſt pleaded my cauſe, even before the ſons of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands; that men may know it was thy work and ſee that thou, Lord, haſt done it.

I do not, I dare not ſay, ſo let mine enemies periſh.

O Lord! yea Lord, rather give them repentance pardon and impunity, if it be thy bleſſed will.

Let not thy juſtice prevent the objects and opportunities of my mercy; yea, let them live and amend who have moſt offended me in ſo high a nature; that I may have thoſe to forgive; who bear moſt proportion in their offences to thoſe treſpaſſes againſt thy majeſty, which I hope thy mercy hath forgiven me.

Lord lay not their ſinns (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their conſciences for amendment: Let the Lightning of this thunderbolt, which hath been ſo ſevere a puniſhment to one, be a terrour to all.

Diſcover to them their ſinn, who know not

they

they have done amiss, and scare them from their sin, that sin of malicious wickedness.

That preventing thy judgments by their true repentance, they may escape the stroaks of thine eternal vengeance.

And do Thou, O Lord, establish the Throne of thy Servant in mercie and truth meeting together; let my Crown ever flourish in righteousness and peace kissing each other.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, who hast taught us to pray for, to doe good to, and to love our Enemies for thy sake; who hast prevented us with offertures of thy love, even when we were thine enemies, and hast sent thy Son Jesus Christ to die for us, when we were disposed to crucifie Him.

9. *Upon the liſting, and raiſing Armies againſt the* KING.

I Find that I am at the ſame point and poſture I was, when they forced me to leave *White-hall*: what tumults could not do, an Army muſt; which is but Tumults liſted, and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My receſſe have given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And ſo I eaſily may as to any outward ſtrength, which, God knows, is little or none at all: But I have a Soul invinciable through Gods Grace enabling Me; here I am ſure to be Conquerour, if God will give me ſuch a meaſure of Conſtancy, as to fear him more then man: and to love the inward peace of my Conſcience, before any outward tranquillity.

And muſt I be oppoſed with force, becauſe they have not reaſon whereby to convince me? O my Soule! be of good courage, they confeſſe their known weakneſſe, as to truth, and Juſtice, who choſe rather to contend by Armies, then by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for thoſe many acts of Grace I have lately paſſed, and for thoſe many Indignities I have

have endured? Is there no way left to make Me a glorious KING, but by my sufferings?

It is a hard and disputable choice for a King that loves his People, and desires their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miseries of Civil War in the bowels of my most flourishing Kingdom, the fruits I must now reap after 17 yeers living and reigning among them with such a measure of Justice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired, or envied? notwithstanding some miscarriages in Government, which might escape, rather through ill counsell of some men driving on their private ends, or the peevishness of others envying the Publick should be managed without them, or the hidden and insuperable necessities of State, then any propensity, I hope, of my Self either to injuriousnesse or oppression.

Whose innocent bloud, during my Reign, have I shed, to satisfie my lust, anger, or covetousness? what Widows or Orphans tears can witnesse against me; the just cry of which must now be avenged with my Own bloud? For the hazards of War are equall, nor doth the Canon know any respect of persons.

In vain is my Person excepted by a Parenthesis of words, when so many hands are armed against me with Swords.

God knowes how much I have ſtudied to ſee what Ground of Juſtice is alledged for this Warr againſt Me; that ſo I might (by giving juſt ſatisfaction) either prevent, or ſoon end ſo unnaturall a motion; which (to many men) ſeems rather the productions of a ſurfeit of peace and wantonneſs of mindes, or of private diſcontents, Ambition and Faction (which eaſily finde, or make cauſes of quarrell) then any reall obſtructions of publique Juſtice, or Parliamentary Privileg.

But this is pretended, and this I muſt be able to avoid and anſwer before God in My owne Conſcience, however ſome men are not willing to beleeve Me, leſt they ſhould condemn themſelves.

When I firſt with-drew from *White-hall*, to ſee if I could allay the inſolency of the Tumults (for the not ſuppreſſing of which, no account in Reaſon can be given, (where an orderly Guard was granted) but only to oppreſs both Mine and the Two Houſes freedome of declaring and voting according to every mans Conſcience) what obſtructions of Juſtice were there further then this, that what ſeemed juſt to one man, might not ſeem ſo to another?

Whom did I by power protect againſt the Juſtice of Parliament?

That ſome men with-drew, who feared the partiality of their tryall, (warned by my Lord

of

of *Straffords* death) while the vulgar threatned to be their Oppressors, and Judgers of their Judges, was from that instinct which is in all creatures to preserve themselves. If any others refused to appear, where they evidently saw the current of Justice and Freedom so stopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawfull Judges either durst not come to the House, or not declare their sense with liberty and safety; it cannot seem strange to any reasonable man, when the sole exposing them to publick *odium* was enough to ruine them before their Cause could be heard or tryed.

Had not factious Tumults over-born the Freedom and Honour of the two Houses, had they asserted their Justice against them, and made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their Consciences: I know no man so deer to Me, whom I had the least inclination to advise, either to withdraw himself, or deny appearing upon their Summons, to whose Sentence according to Law, I think every Subject bound to stand.

Distempers (indeed) were risen to so great a height for want of timely suppressing the vulgar insolencies, that the greatest guilt of those which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents, was this, That they would not suffer themselves to be over-awed by the Tumults, and their Patrons; nor compelled to abet

by their ſuffrages, or preſence; the deſignes of thoſe men who agitated innovations and ruine both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous conſtancie and cautiouſneſs; further then this I did never allow any mans refractorineſs againſt the Priviledges and Orders of the Houſes; to whom I wiſhed nothing more then Safetie, Fulneſs and Freedom.

But the truth is, ſome men, and thoſe not many, deſpairing in fair and Parliamentary waies by free Deliberations and Votes to gain the concurrence of the major part of Lords and Commons, betook themſelves (by the deſperate activitie of factious Tumults) to ſift and terrifie away all thoſe Members whom they ſaw to be of contrary minds to their purpoſes.

How oft was the buſineſſe of the Biſhops enjoying their ancient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the Houſe of Peers, carried for them by far the Major part of Lords? Yet after five repulſes, contrary to all Order and Cuſtome, it was by Tumultuary inſtigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when moſt of the Peers were forced to abſent themſelves.

In like manner as the Bill againſt Root and Branch, brought on by tumultuary Clamours, and ſchiſmaticall Terrours, which could never paſſe til both Houſes were ſufficiently thinned and over-awed.

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To which partialitie, while in all Reason, Justice, and Religion, my Conscience forbids me, by consenting, to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament, I must now be urged with and Armie, and constrained either to hazard my Own, and my Kingdoms ruine, by my Defence, or prostrate my Conscience to the blinde obedience of those men, whose zeal us superstition thinks, or pretends, they cannot do God and the Church a greater service, then utterly to destroy that Primitive, Apostolicall, and anciently Universall Government of the Church by Bishops.

Which, if other mens judgments biad them to maintain, or forbids them to consent to the abolishing of it, mine much more; who, besides the grounds I have in my judgement, have also a most strict and indispensable Oath upon my Conscience, to preserve that Order, and the Rights of the Church; to which most Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjurie, most un-beseeming a Christian King, should I ever, by giving my consent, be betrayed, I should account it infinitely greater miserie, then any hath, or can befall me; in as much as the least sin hath more evill in it then the greatest affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-Episcopall Faction at first in this point with my Consent, and sacrificed the Ecclesiasticall Government and Revenues to

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the fury of their covetousnes, ambition, and revenge, I beleeve they would then have found no colourable necessity of raising an Army to fetch in and punish Delinquents.

That I consented to the Bil of putting the Bishops out of the House of Peers, was done with a firm perswasion of their contentednes to suffer a present diminution in their Rights and Honour for my sake, and the Commonweals, which I was confident they would readily yeeld unto, rather then occasion (by the least obstruction on their part) any dangers to Me, or to my Kingdom. That I cannot add my consent for the totall extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath so much further tie upon My Conscience, as what I think Religious and Apostolicall, and so very sacred and Divine, is not to be dispensed with, or destroyed, when what is onely of civill Favour, and priviledge of Honour granted to men of that Order, may with their consent who are concerned in it, be annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to be in point of Justice and Authority of Parliament; when I call God to witnes, I know none of such consequence as was worth speaking of a War, being onely such as Justice, Reason and Religion had made in my own and other mens Consciences.

After-

Afterwards indeed a great ſhew of Delinquents was made, which were but conſequences neceſſarily following upon Mine, or others withdrawing from, or defence againſt violence: but thoſe could not be the firſt occaſion of raiſing an Army againſt Me. Wherein I was ſo far from preventing them, (as they have declared often, that they might ſeem to have the advantage and Juſtice of the defenſive part, and load Me with all the envie and injuries of firſt aſſaulting them) that (God knows) I had not ſo much as any hopes of an Army in My thoughts. Had the Tumults been honourably and effectually repreſſed by exemplary juſtice, and the Liberty of the Houſes ſo vindicated, that all Members of either Houſe might with Honour and Freedom, becoming ſuch a Senate, have come and diſcharged their Conſciences, I had obtained all that I deſigned by My withdrawing, and had much more willingly and ſpeedily returned, then I retired; this being My neceſſity driving, the other my choice deſiring.

But ſome men knew, I was like to bring the ſame Judgment and Conſtancy which I carryed with Me, which would never fit their deſignes; and ſo while they invited Me to come, and grievouſly complained of My abſence, yet they could not but be pleaſed with it: eſpecially, when they had found out that plauſible

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and popular pretexts of raiſing an Army to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never puniſhed the greateſt and moſt intolerable delinquencie of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drave my Self, and ſo many of both Houſes from their places, by moſt barbarous indignities; which yet in all Reaſon and Honour, they were as loath to have deſerted, as thoſe others were willing they ſhould, that ſo they might have occaſion to perſecute them with the injuries of an Army, for not ſuffering more tamely the injuries of Tumults.

That this is the true ſtate, and firſt drift and deſigne in raiſing an Army againſt me, is by the ſequel ſo evident, that all other pretences vaniſh. For when they declared by Propoſitions, or Treaties, what they would have to appeaſe them; there was nothing of conſequence offered to Mee, or demanded of Mee, as any originall difference in any point of Law, or order of Juſtice. But among other leſſer Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Epiſcopall, and the Eſtabliſhment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded were either impertinent as to any ground of a War, or eaſily granted by me, and onely to make up a number; or elſe they were meerly conſequentiall, and acceſſarie, after the War was by them unjuſtly began.

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I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noiſe and ſhew of piety, and heat of Reformation and Religion, might eaſily ſo fill with prejudice, that all equality and clearneſs of judgement might be obſtructed. But this was, and is, as to my beſt obſervation, the true ſtate of affairs between Us, when they firſt raiſed an Armie, with this deſigne, either to ſtop my mouth, or to force my conſent: and in this truth, as to my conſcience, (who was God knowes, as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eye of the world, from having any preparation for one) I finde that comfort, that in the midſt of all the unfortunate Succeſſes of this War, one my ſide, I do not think my Innocency any whit prejudiced or darkned; Nor am I without that Integrity and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to addreſs my Prayer to Him.

For thou, O Lord, ſeeſt cleerly thorow all the cloudings of humane affairs: Thou judgeſt without prejudice: Thy Omniſcience eternally guides thy unerrable Judgment.

O my God, the proud are riſen againſt Me, and the Aſſemblies of violent men have ſought after my Soul, and have not ſet Thee before their eyes.

Conſider mine Enemies, O Lord, for they are many, and they hate me with a deadly hatred, without a cauſe.

For

For thou knowest, I had no passion, design, or preparation to embroil My Kingdoms in a Civil War; whereto I had least temptation; as knowing I must adventure more then any, and could gain least of any by it.

Thou, O Lord, art my witness, how oft I have deplored and studied to divert the necessity thereof, wherin I cannot well be thought so prodigally thirstie of my Subjects blood, as to venture my own life, which I have bin oft compelled to do in this unhappie War; and which were better spent to save then to destroy my people.

O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou hast suffered some men to bring upon me; but much more to bear the unjust reproaches of those, who not content that I suffer most by the War, will needs perswade the world that I have raised first, or given just cause to raise it.

The confidence of some mens false tongues is such, that they would almost make me suspect my own innocencie: Yea, I could be content (at least by my silence) to take upon me so great a guilt before men, If by that I might allay the malice of mine enemies, and redeem my people from this miserable War; since thou, O Lord, knowest my innocencie in this thing.

Thou wilt find out bloodie and deceitful men; many of whom have not lived out half their daies, in which they promised themselvs the enjoiment

joyment of the fruits of their violent and wicked Counsels.

Save, O Lord, thy servant, as hitherto thou hast, and in thy due time scatter the people that delight in War.

Arise, O Lord, lift up thy Self, because of the rage of mine enemies, which increaseth more and more. Behold them that have conceived mischief, travelled with iniquitie, and brought forth falshood.

Thou knowest the chief designe of this War is, either to destroy my Person, or force my Judgement, and to make me renege my Conscience, and thy Truth.

I am driven to crosse Davids *choice, and desire rather to fall into the hands of men by denying them (though their mercie be cruell) then into thy hands by sinning against My Conscience, and in that against thee, who art a consuming fire: Better they destroy Me, then thou shouldest damn Me.*

Be thou the defence of My soul, who wilt save the upright in heart.

If nothing but My blood will satisfie My Enemies, or quench the flames of My Kingdoms, or thy temporall Justice, I am content, if it be thy will, that it be shed by mine own Subjects hands.

But O let the blood of Me, though their King, yet a sinner, be washed with the blood of my Innocent

cent and peace-making Redeemer, for in the thy Justice will finde not only a temporary expiation, but an eternall plenary satisfaction both for my sins, and the sins of my People whom I beseech thee still own for thine, and when thy wrath is appeased by my Death, Remember thy great mercies towards them and forgive them! O my Father, for they know not what they doe.

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10. *Upon their seizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.*

HOw untruly I am charged with the first raising of an Army, and beginning this Civill Warre, the eyes that onely pitty Me, and the Loyall hearts that durst only pray for me, at first, might witnesse; which yet appear not so many on my side, as there were men in Armes listed against me; my unpreparednesse for a War may well dis-hearten those that would help Me; while it argues (truly) my willingnes to fight; yet it testifies for me, that I am set on the defensive part; having so little hopes or power to defend others, that I have none to defend my self, or to preserve what is mine own from their proreption.

No

No man can doubt but they prevented me in their purpoſes, as well as their injuries, who are ſo much before-hand in their preparations againſt me, and ſurpriſals of my Strength. Such as are not for Them, yet dare not be for Me; ſo over-aw'd is their Loyalty by the others numbers and terrours. I believe my innocency and unpreparedneſs to affert my Rights and Honour, makes me the more guilty in their eſteems; who would not ſo eaſily have declared a War againſt me, if I had firſt aſſaulted them.

They knew, my chiefeſt Arms left me, were thoſe only which the Ancient Chriſtians were wont to uſe againſt their Perſecutors, Prayers and Tears. Theſe may ſerve a good mans turn, if not to conquer as a Souldier, yet to ſuffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of me, and ſurpriſing my Caſtles, Forts, Arms and Navy, with the Militia, is ſo far beſt for me, That it may drive me from putting any truſt in the arm of fleſh, and wholly to caſt my ſelf into the protection of the living God, who can ſave by few or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be Elias Caterers, and bring him food, may alſo make their ſurpriſall of outward force and defence, an opportunity to ſhew me the ſpecial ſupport of his power and protection.

I thank God, I reckon not now the want o
the *Militia* so much in reference to my ow
protection, as my Peoples.

Their many and sore oppressions grieve me
I am above mine own: What I want in th
hands of Force and Power, I have in the wing
of Faith and Prayer.

But this is the strange method these men w
needs take to resolve their riddle of Makin
Me a glorious King, by taking away my King
ly power: Thus I shall become a Support t
my Friends, and a Terrour to my Enemies, b
being unable to succour the one, or suppre
the other.

For thus have they designed and propose
to me the new modeling of Soveraignty an
Kingship, as without any reality of power, s
without any necessity of subjection and obedi
ence: That the Majesty of the Kings of Eng
land might hereafter hang like Mahomets
Tomb, by a magnetique Charm, between th
Power and Priviledges of the two Houses, i
an airy imagination of Regality.

But I beleeve the surfet of too much power,
which some men have greedily seized on, and
now seek wholly to devour, will ere long make
the Common-wealth sick both of it and them,
since they cannot well digest it; Soveraign
Power in Subjects seldom agreeing with the
stomacks of fellow-subjects.

Yet

Yet I have even in this point of the constant Militia, sought, by satisfying their fears and importunities, both to secure my Friends, and overcome mine Enemies, to gain the peace of all, by depriving my self of a sole power to help, or hurt any: yeelding the Militia (which is my undoubted Right no less then the Crown) to be disposed of as the two Houses shall think fit, during my time.

So willing am I to bury all jealousies in them of me, and to live above all Jealousies of them, as to my self; I desire not to be safer then I wish them and my People: If I had the sole actuall disposing of the Militia, I could not protect my People, further then they protected Me and Themselves: so that the use of the Militia is mutuall. I would but defend my self so far, as to be able to defend my good Subjects from those mens violence and fraud, who conscious to their own evill merits and designes, will needs perswade the world, that none but Wolves are fit to be trusted with the custody of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miserable experience hath taught my Subjects, since power hath been wrested from Me, and imployed against Me and Them, that neither can be safe, if both be not in such a way as the Law hath intrusted the publike safety and welfare.

Yet even this Concession of mine, as to the exer-

exercise of the Militia, so vast and large, is no
satisfactory to some men; which seem to b
Enemies not to me only, but to all Mona
chy; and are resolved to transmit to poster
such Jealousies of the Crown, as they shou
never permit it to enjoy its just and necessar
Rights in point of power; to which (at last
all Law is resolved, while thereby it is be
protected.

But here Honour and Justice due to my Suc
cessors, forbid me to yeeld to such a total alie
nation of that power from them, which civilit
and duty, no less then Justice and Honou
should have forbad them to have asked of me.

For, although I can be content to Eclypse
my own beams, to satisfie their fears; who
think they must needs be scorched or blinded,
if I should shine in the full lustre of Kingl
power wherewith God and the Laws have
invested me: Yet I will never consent to put
out the Sun of Soveraignty to all posterity,
and succeeding Kings; whose just recovery
of their Rights from unjust Usurpations and
Extortions, shall never be prejudiced or ob
structed by any Act of mine; which indeed,
would not be more injurious to succeeding
Kings, then to my Subjects; whom I desire
to leave in a condition not wholly desperate
for the future; so as by a Law to be ever sub
jected to those many factious distractions,

which

which must needs follow the many-headed *Hydra* of Government: which as it makes a show to the people to have more eyes to foresee; so they will find it hath more mouths also, which must be satisfied: and (at best) it will rather a monstrosity, then any thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchy; where counsell may be in many as the senses, but the Supreme Power can be but in One as the Head.

Happily where men have tried the horrours and malignant influence which will certainly follow my enforced darkness and Eclypse, occasioned by the interposition and shadow of that body, which as the Moon receiveth its chiefest lights from me) which will at length more esteem and welcome the restored glory and blessing of the Suns light.

And if at present I may seem by My receding so much from the use of my Right in the Power of the *Militia*, to come short of the discharge of that trust to which I am sworn for my peoples protection; I conceive those men are guilty of the inforced perjury; (if so it may seem) who compell me to take this new and strange way of discharging my trust, by seeming to desert it, of protecting my Subjects, by exposing my self to danger or dishonour, for their safety and quiet.

Which in the conflicts of Civill War and ad-

advantages of power, cannot be effected but by some side yeilding; to which the greatest love of the publique peace, and the firmest assurance of Gods protection (arising from a good Conscience) doth more invite me, then can be expected from other mens fears; which arising from the injustice of their actions (though never so successfull) yet dare not adventure their Authours upon any other way of safety then that of the Sword and Militia; which yet are but weak defences against the stroaks of divine Vengeance, which will overtake; or of mens own Consciences, which alwayes attend injurious perpetrations.

For my self, I do not think that I can want any thing which providential necessity is pleased to take from me, in order to my Peoples tranquillity and Gods glory, whose protection is sufficient for me; and he is able by his being with me, abundantly to compensate to me, as he did to Job, what-ever Honour, Power, or Liberty the Chaldeans, the Sabeans, or the Divel himself can deprive me of.

Although they take from me all defence of Arms and Militia, all refuge by Land of Forts and Castles, all flight by Sea in my Ships and Navie; yea, though they study to rob me of the Hearts of my Subjects, the greatest Treasure and best Ammunition of a King; yet cannot they deprive me of my own

innocency,

innocencie, or Gods mercie, nor obstruct my way to heaven.

Therefore, O my God, to thee I fly for help; if thou wilt be on my side, I shall have more with me then can be against me.

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I desire in comparison of thee: In the losse of all, be thou more then all to me: Make haste to succour me, thou that never failest them that put their trust in thee.

Thou seest I have no power to oppose them that come against me, who are encouraged to fight under pretence of fighting for me: But my eies are towards thee.

Thou needest no help nor shall I, if I may have thine; if not no conquer, yet at least to suffer.

If thou delightest not in my safety, and prosperity, behold here I am willing to be reduced to what thou wilt have me; whose Judgements oft begin with thy own Children.

I am content to be nothing that thou maiest be all.

Thou hast taught me, that no King can be saved by the multitude of an host; but yet Thou canst save me by the multitude of Thy mercies, who art the Lord of Hosts, and the Father of mercies.

Help me, O Lord, who am sore distressed on every side, yet be thou on my side, and I shall

not fear what man can do unto me.

I will give thy Justice the glorie of my distress.

O let thy mercie have the glorie of my deliverance from them that persecute my soul:

By my sins have I fought against Thee, and robbed thee of thy glory, who am thy subject; and justly maist thou by my own Subjects, strip me of my strength, and eclisp my glory.

But shew thy self, O my hope and only refuge! Let not mine enemies say, There is no help for him in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my footsteps slip not.

Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the shadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marvelous loving kindness, O thou that savest by thy right hand them that put their trust in thee, from those that rise up against them;

From the wicked that oppress me, from my deadly enemies that compass me about.

Shew me the path of life: In thy presence is fulness of joy, at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

11. *Upon the* 19. *Propositions first sent to the* KING; *and more afterwards.*

ALthough there be many things, they demand, yet if these be all, I am glad to see at what price they set my own safety, and my peoples peace; which I cannot think I buy at too dear a rate, save only the parting with my Conscience and Honor. If nothing else will satisfie, I must chuse rather to be as miserable and inglorious, as My enemies can make or wish me.

Some things here propounded to me have been offered by me; others are easily granted; The rest (I think) ought not to be obtruded upon me, with the point of the sword; nor urged with the injuries of a Warr; when I have already declared that I cannot yeeld to them, without violating my Conscience: 'tis strange, there can be no method of peace, but by making war upon my soul.

Here are many things required of me, but I see nothing offer'd to me, by the way of gratefull Exchange of Honour; or any requitall for those favours, I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honour they do me, to put Me

on the giving part, which is more princely and divine. They cannot ask more then I can give, may I but reſerve to my Self the incommunicable Jewell of my Conſcience; and not be forced to part with that, whoſe loſs nothing can repair or requite.

Some things (which they are pleaſed to propound) ſeem unreaſonable to Me; and while I have any maſtery of my Reaſon, how can they think I can conſent to them; who know they are ſuch as are inconſiſtent with being either a King, or a good Chriſtian? My yeilding ſo much (as I have already) makes ſome men confident I will deny nothing.

The love I have of my peoples peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon Me; but the love of truth and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant ſome things they require, I ſhould not ſo much weaken my outward ſtate of a King, as wound that inward quiet of my Conſcience; which ought to be, is, and ever ſhall be (by Gods Grace) dearer to Me then my Kingdoms.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honour and Policy are at ſome time to be denied, to ſome men, leſt he ſhould ſeem not to dare to deny any thing; and give too much incouragement to unreaſonable demands or importunities.

But to bind my Self to a generall and implicite

cite consent to what-ever they shall desire or propound, (for such is one of their Propositions) were such a latitude of blind obedience, as never was expected from any Free-men, nor fit to be required of any man, much less of a King by his own Subjects; any of whom he may possibly exceed as much in wisdom, as he doth in place and power.

This were, as if *Samson* should have consented, not only to bind his own hands, and cut off his hair, but to put out his own eys, that the Philistins might with the more safety mock and abuse him; which they chose rather to do, then quite destroy him, when he was become so tame an object, and fit occasion for their sport and scorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of denyall, seems an arrogancy least of all becoming those who pretend to make their Addresses in an humble and loyall way of petitioning; who by that, sufficiently confess their own inferiority, which obligeth them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quieted, with such an Answer as the Will and Reason of their Superiour thinks fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedom and power of Reason, to Consent or Dissent, else it were very foolish and absurd to ask, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be my Right belonging to Me,

in Reaſon as a Man, and in Honour as a Soveraign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other then extreme injury to confine my Reaſon to a neceſſity of granting all they have a mind to ask, whoſe minds may be as differing from mine, both in reaſon and honour, as their aims may be, and their qualities are? which laſt God and the Laws have ſufficiently diſtinguiſht, making me their Soveraign, and them my Subjects: whoſe Propoſitions may ſoon prove violent oppoſitions, if once they gain to be neceſſary impoſitions upon the Regall Authority; Since no man ſeeks to limit and confine his King in Reaſon, who hath not a ſecret aim to ſhare with him, or uſurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have me truſt to their moderation, and abandon mine own diſcretion; that ſo I might verifie what repreſentations ſome have made of me to the world, that I am fitter to be their Pupil then their Prince. Truly, I am not ſo confident of my own ſufficiency, as not willingly to admit the Counſel of others: But yet I am not ſo diffident of my ſelf, as brutiſhly to ſubmit to any mans dictates, and at once to betray the Soveraignty of Reaſon in my ſoul, and the Majeſty of my own Crown to any of my Subjects.

Leaſt of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce me fully to ſubmit to all the deſires of

of those men, who will not admit, or do refuse, and neglect to vindicate the freedom of their own and others Sitting and Voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men that knew them, knew this, how young States-men the most part of these propounders are; so that till experience of one seven years have shewed me how well they can govern themselves, and so much power as is wrested from me, I should be very foolish indeed, and unfaithful in my Trust, to put the reins of both Reason and Government wholly out of my Own, into their hands, whose driving is already too much like *Jehues*; and whose forwardnesse to ascend the throne of Supremacie pretends more of *Phaeton* then of *Phebus*; God divert the Omen of his will.

They may remember that at best they sit in Parliament, as my Subjects, not my Superiours: called to be My Counsellours, not Dictatours: Their Summons extends to recommend their Advice, not to command my Dutie.

When I first heard of Propositions to be sent me, I expected either some good Laws which had been antiquated by the course of time, or overlaid by the corruption of manners, had been desired to a restauration of their vigour and due execution; or some evil Customs

preterlegall, and abuſes perſonall had been to be removed: or ſome injuries done by my Self, and others, to the Common-weal, were to be repaired: or ſome equable offertures were to be tendred to Me, wherein the advantages of my Crown being conſidered by them, might fairly induce me to condeſcend to what tended to my Subjects good, without any great diminution of my Self, whom Nature, Law, Reaſon and Religion binde Me (in the firſt place) to preſerve; without which 'tis impoſſible to preſerve my people according to my place.

Or (at leaſt) I looked for ſuch moderate deſires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amiſſe in Church and State, as might ſtill preſerve the foundation and eſſentials of Government in both; not ſhake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the Laws in force, the wiſdom and piety of former Parliaments, the ancient and univerſall practice of Chriſtian Churches; the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: Nor yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the room of what muſt be deſtroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others Inſtitution, and alſo ſupply its pretended defects, reform its abuſes, and ſatisfie ſober and wiſe men, not with ſoft and ſpecious words, pretending zeal and ſpecial piety,

but

but with pregnant and solid Reasons, both divine and humane, which might justifie the abruptnesse and necessity of such vast Alterations.

But in all their Propositions I can observe little of these kindes, or to these ends: Nothing of any Laws dis-jointed, which are to be restored; of any right invaded; of any justice to be unobstructed; of any compensations to be made; of any impartiall Reformation to be granted: to all or any of which Reason, Religion, true Policy, or any other humane motives might induce Me.

But as to the main matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great novelty or difficulty, I perceive, that what were formerly look'd upon as Factions in the State, and Schisms in the Church, and so punishable by the Laws, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamours, and assistance (chiefly) to demand not onely Tolerations of themselves, in their vanity, novelty, and confusion; but also Abolition of the Laws against them, and a totall extirpation of that Government, whose Rights they have a mind to invade.

This as to the main: Other Propositions are (for the most part) but as waste paper in which those are wrapped up, to present them somewhat more handsomly.

Nor do I so much wonder at the variety.

and horrible noveltie of ſome Propoſitions, (there being nothing ſo monſtrous, which ſome fancies are not prone to long for)

This caſts me into, not an admiration, but an extaſie, how ſuch things ſhould have the fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houſes of the Parliament of England, among whom, I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either Houſe, whoſe Judgements free, ſingle and apart did approve or deſire ſuch deſtructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perſwaded there remains in far the Major part of both Houſes (if free and full) ſo much Learning, Reaſon, Religion, and juſt Moderation, as to know how to ſever between the uſe and the abuſe of things, the inſtitution and the corruption, the Government and the miſ-government, the Primitive Patterns and the aberrations or blottings of after-Copies.

Sure they could not at all, upon ſo little, or no Reaſon (as yet produced to the contrary) ſo ſoon renounce all regard to the Laws in in force, to antiquity, to the piety of their Reforming progenitors, to the proſperity of former times in this Church and State, under the preſent Government of the Church.

Yet, by a ſtrange fatality, theſe men ſuffer, either by their abſence, or ſilence, or negligence,

gence, or ſupine credulity (beleeving that all is good, which is guilded with ſhewes of Zeal and Reformation) their private diſſenting in Judgement to be drawn into the common ſewer or ſtreame of the preſent vogue and humour; which hath its chief riſe and abetment from thoſe popular clamors and tumults: which ſerved to give life and ſtrength to the infinite activity of thoſe men, who ſtudied with all diligence, and policy, to improve to their innovating deſignes, the preſent diſtractions.

Such Armies of Propoſitions having ſo little, in my judgment, of Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion on their ſide, as they had Tumult and Faction for their riſe, muſt not go alone, but ever be backt and ſeconded, with Armies of Souldiers; Though the ſecond ſhould prevaile againſt my Perſon, yet that firſt ſhall never overcome me further then I ſee cauſe; for, I look not at their number and power, ſo much as I weigh their Reaſon and Juſtice.

[Had the two Houſes firſt ſued out their Livery, and once effectually redeemed themſelves from the Wardſhip of the Tumults, (which can be no other then the Hounds that attend the cry and hollow of thoſe men, who hunt after factions and private Deſignes, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did my Judgement tell Me, that the propoſitions

sitions sent to Me were the Results of the major part of their Votes, who exercise their freedom, as well as they have a right to sit in Parliament: I should then suspect my Own judgment, for not speedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have charity enough to think there are wise men among them: and humility to think, that, as in some things I may want, so 'tis fit I should use their advice, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wisdom such a compleatness and inerrability as to exclude my Self; since none of them hath that part to act, that Trust to discharge, nor that Estate and Honour to preserve, as my Self; without whose Reason concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is necessary in all Natures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publick wisdom, which makes the Laws.

But the unreasonableness of some Propositions is not more evident to me then this is, That they are not the joynt and free desires of those in their Major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For, many of them savour very strong of that old leaven of Innovations, masked under the name of Reformation; (which in my Two last famous Predecessours days heaved, ar,

and

and ſometime threatned both Prince and Parliaments:) But, I am ſure, was never wont ſo far to infect the whole maſſe of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom; how-ever it diſperſed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likely ſo ſuddenly to taint the Major part of both Houſes, as that they ſhould unanimouſly deſire, and effect ſo enormous and dangerous innovations in Church and State, contrary to their former education, practice, and judgment.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choice of many Members was carried by much Faction in the Countries; ſome thirſting after nothing more then a paſſionate revenge of what-ever diſpleaſure they had conceived againſt Me, my Court, or the Clergy.

But all Reaſon bids me impute theſe ſudden and vaſt deſires of change to thoſe few, who armed themſelves with the many-headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No leſs doth Reaſon, Honour, and Safety both of Church and State command me to chew ſuch morſels before I let them down; If the ſtraitneſs of my Conſcience will not give me leave to ſwallow down ſuch Camels, as others do, of Sacriledge, and injuſtice both to God and man, they have no more cauſe to quarrell with me, then for this, that my throat is not ſo wide as theirs. Yet, by Gods help, I

am

am resolved, That nothing of passion or peevishnesse, or list to contradict, or vanity to shew my negative power, shall have any byas upon my judgment, to make me gratifie my will, by denying any thing which my Reason and Conscience commands me not.

Nor on the other side, will I consent to more then Reason, Justice, Honor and Religion perswade me to be, for Gods glory, the Churches good, my Peoples welfare, and my own peace.

I will study to satisfie my Parliament, and my People; but I will never for fear, or flatterie gratifie any Faction, how potent soever: for this were to nourish the disease, and oppresse the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving me, that free and faithfull counsel, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder me from craving of the councell of that mighty Counsellor who can both suggest what is best, and incline my heart stedfastly to follow it.

O thou first and eternal Reason, Whose wisdom is fortified with omnipotencie, furnish thy servant, first with clear discoveries of Truth, Reason and Justice in My understanding: then so confirm my will and resolution to adhere

to

to them, that no terrors, injuries or oppressions of mine enemies may ever inforce me against those rules, which thou by them hast planted in My Conscience.

Thou never madest me a King, that I should be less then a Man; and not dare to say, Yea, or Nay, as I see cause; which freedom is not denied to the meanest creature that hath the use of Reason, and liberty of speech.

Shall that be blameable in me, which is commendable veracity and constancy in others?

Thou seest, O Lord, with what partiallity, and injustice, they deny that freedom to me their KING, *which Thou hast giuen to all men; and which Themselves pertinaciously challenge to themselves, while they are so tender of the least breach of their priviledges.*

To thee I make my suppplication, who canst guide us by an unerring rule, through the perplexed Labyrinths of our own thoughts, and other mens Proposals; which I have some cause to suspect, are purposely cast as snares, that by My granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in those difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict me.

O Lord, make thy way plain before Me.

Let not my own sinful passions cloud, or divert thy sacred suggestions.

Let thy Glory be my end, thy Word my rule, and then thy will be done.

I cannot please all, I care not to please some men; if I may be happie to please thee, I need not fear whom I displease.

Thou that makest the Wisdome of the World foolishnesse, and takest in their own devices, such as are wise in their own conceits, make Me wise by thy Truth, for thy honor, my Kingdoms generall good, and my own souls salvation, and I shall not much regard the worlds opinion or diminution of Me.

The lesse of Wisdome they are willing to impute to Me, the more they shall be convinced of thy Wisdom directing Me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted, out of crosnesse or humour; nor grant any thing which is to be denied, out of any fear or flatterie of men.

Suffer me not to be guiltie or unhappie, by willing or inconsiderate advancing any mens designes, which are injurious to the publique good, while I confirm them by My consent.

Nor let Me be any occasion to hinder or defraud the Publick of what is best, by any morose or perverse dissentings.

Make Me so humbly charitable, as to follow their advice, when it appears to be for the publick good; of whose affections to me, I have yet but few evidencies to assure Me.

Thou canst as well blesse honest errours, as blast fraudulent counsels.

Since we must give an account of every evill

and

and idle word in private, at thy Tribunall; Lord make me carefull of those solemne Declarations of mine which are like to have the greatest influence upon the Publique, either for woe, or weale.

The lesse others consider what they aske, make me the more solicitous what I answer.

Though Mine own, and My Peoples pressures are grievous, and peace would be very pleasing; yet Lord, never suffer Me to avoid the one, or purchase the other, with the least expense or waste of my Conscience; whereof thou, O Lord, onely art deservedly more Master then my self.

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12. *Vpon the Rebellion, and troubles in* Ireland.

THe Commotions in *Ireland* were so sudden, and so violent, that it was hard at first either to discern the rise, or apply a remedie to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed that Sea of blood, which hath there bin cruelly & barbarously shed, is enough to drown any man in eternall both infamy and misery, whom God shall find the malicious Author or Instigator of its effusion.

It fell out, as a most unhappy advantage to some mens malice against me; that when they had

had impudence enough to lay any thing to my charge, this bloody oppertunity should be offered them, with which I must be aspersed. Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred to me, being so ful of sin against God, disloyalty to my self, and destructive to my Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be beleeved, when they affirmed, that what the Irish Rebels did, was done with my privitie (at least) if not by my Commission: But these knew too well, that it is no news for som of my Subjects to fight not only without my Commission, but against my Command, and Person too, yet all the while to pretend, they fight by my Authoritie, and for my safety.

I would to God the *Irish* had nothing to alledge for their imitation against those whose blame must needs be the greater, by how much Protestant Principles are more against all Rebellion against Princes, then those of Papists. Nor wil the goodnes of mens intentions excuse the scandall, and contagion of their examples.

But who ever fail of their Dutie toward me, I must bear the blame; this honour my enemies have alwayes done me, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to me, nor competent trials, either of my patience under them, or my pardon of them.

There-

Therefore with exquisite malice they have mixed the gall and vinegar of falsity and contempt, with the cup of my Affliction; charging Me not only with untruths, but such, as wherin I have the greatest share of loss & dishonor by what is cõmitted; wherby, (in all policy, reason and Religion, having least cause to give the least consent, and most grounds of utter detestation) I might be represented by them to the world, the more inhumane and barbarous: Like some Cyclopick monster, whom nothing will serve to eat and drink, but the flesh and bloud of my own Subjects; in whose common welfare my interest lies, as much as some mens doth in their perturbations: who think they cannot do wel but in evil times; nor so cunningly, as in laying the *odium* of those sad events on others, wherewith themselves are most pleased, and whereof they have been not the least occasion.

And certainly, 'tis thought by many wise men, that the prepostrous rigour and unreasonable severity, which some men carried before them in *England*, was not the least incentive, that kindled, and blew up into those horrid flames, the sparks of discontent, which wanted not pre-disposed fewel for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where dispair being added to their former discontents, and the fear of utter extirpation to their wonted oppressions, it was

easie

easie to provoke to an open Rebellion a people prone enough to break out into all exorbitant violence, both by some principles of their Religion, and the naturall desires of liberty; both to exempt themselves from their present restraints, and to prevent those after rigours, wherewith they saw themselves apparantly threatned by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable fury of some men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own.

God knows, as I can with truth wash my hands in innocency, as to any guilt in that Rebellion; so I might wash them in my tears, as to the sad apprehensions I had to see it spread so far, and make such waste: and this in a time when distractions and jealousies here in *England* made most men rather intent to their own safety, or designes they were driving, then to the relief of those who were every day inhumanely butchered in Ireland: Whose tears and bloud might, if nothing else, have quenched, or at least for a time, repressed and smothered those sparks of Civill Dissentions and Jealousies which in England some men most industriously scattered.

I would to God no man had been less affected with Irelands' sad estate then my self; I offered to go my Self in person upon that Expedition: But some men were either afraid

fraid I should have any one Kingdom quiet-
ed; or loth they were to shoot at any mark
here less then my Self; or that any should have
the glory of my destruction but themselves.
Had my many offers been accepted, I am confi-
dent, neither the ruin had been so great, nor the
calamity so long, nor the remedy so despe-
rate.

So that, next to the sin of those who began
that Rebellion, theirs must needs be, who either
hindred the speedy suppressing of it by Dome-
stick Dissentions, or diverted the Aids, or exas-
perated the Rebels to the most desperate reso-
lutions and actions, by threatning all extremi-
ties, not onely to the known Heads and chiefe
incendiaries, but even to the whole Communi-
ty of that Nation; resolving to destroy Root
and Branch, men, women, and children; without
any regard to those usuall pleas for mercy
which Conquerours, not wholly barbarous, are
wont to bear from their own brests, in behalf
of those, whose oppressive faces, rather then
their malice, engaged them; or whose imbecili-
ty for Sex and Age was such, as they could nei-
ther lift up a hand against them, nor distin-
guish between their right hand and their left:
Which preposterous (and I think) un-Evange-
licall zeal is too like that of the rebuked Disci-
ples, who would go no lower in their revenge,
then to call for fire from Heaven upon whole
Cities,

Cities, for the repulse and neglect of a few; o like that of *Jacob*'s sons, which the Father both blamed and cursed: chusing rather to use al extreamities, which might drive men to desperate obstinacy, then to apply moderate remedies; such as might punish some with exemplary Justice, yet disarm others, with tenders of mercy upon their submission, & our protection of them, from the fury of those, who would soon drown them, if they refused to swim down the popular stream with them.

But som kind of Zeal counts all merciful moderation, luke-warmness; and had rather be cruel then counted cold, and is not seldom more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, then for any harm he hath done. The confiscation of mens estates being more beneficiall, then the charity of saving their lives, or reforming their Errors.

When all proportionable succors of the poor Protestants in *Ireland* (who were daily massacred and over-born with numbers of now desperate Enemies) was diverted and obstructed here; I was earnestly entreated, & generally advised by the chief of the Protestant party there, to get them some respite and breathing by a cessation, without which they saw no probability (unless by miracle) to preserve the remnant that had yet escaped: God knows with how much commiseration and solicitous caution I carried

on

on that business, by persons of Honor and Integrity, that so I might neither incourage the Rebels Insolence, nor discourage the Protestants Loyaltie and Patience.

Yet when this was effected in the best sort, that the necessity and difficulty of affairs would then permit, I was then to suffer again in my Reputation and Honor; because I suffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the *Protestants* there.

I thought that in all reason, the gaining of that respite could not be so much to the Rebels advantages (which some have highly calumniated against me) as it might have been for the Protestants future, as well as present safety: If during the time of that Cessation, some men had the grace to have laid *Ireland*'s sad condition more to heart, & laid aside those violent motions, which were here carried on by those, that had better skill to let blood then to stanch it.

But in all the misconstructions of my actions, (which are prone to find more credulity in men to what is false, and evil, then love or charity to what is true and good) as I have no Judge but God above me, so I can have comfort to appeal to his omniscience, who doth not therefore deny my Innocence, because he is pleased so far to try my patience, as he did his servant *Job*'s.

I have enough to do to look to my own Conscience, and the faithfull discharge of my Trust

as

as a King: I have ſcarce leiſure to conſider thoſe ſwarms of reproches, which iſſue out of ſome mens mouths & hearts, as eaſily as ſmoke, or ſparks do out of a furnace: Much leſſe to make ſuch prolix Apologies, as might give thoſe men ſatisfaction: who conſcious to their own depth of wickedneſſe are loth to beleeve any man not to be as bad as themſelves.

'Tis Kingly to do well, and hear ill: If I can but act the one, I ſhall not much regard to bear the other.

I thank God, I can hear with patience as bad as my worſt enemies can faſly ſay. And I hope I ſhall ſtill do better then they deſire, or deſerve I ſhould.

I beleeve it will at laſt appear, that they who firſt began to embroil my other Kingdoms, are in great part guilty, if not of the firſt letting out, yet of the not timely ſtopping thoſe horrid effuſions of bloud in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever my Enemies pleaſe to ſay, or think) I look upon, as that of my other kingdoms, exhauſted out of my own veins: no man being ſo much weakened by it as my Self: And I hope, though mens unſatiable cruelties never will, yet the Mercy of God will at length ſay to his Juſtice, *It is enough*; and command the ſword of Civil Wars to ſheath it ſelf: his merciſull Juſtice intending, I truſt, not our utter confuſion, but our cure: the abatement of our ſins, not the deſolation of theſe Nations.

O my God, let those infinite mercies prevent us once again, which I and my Kingdoms have formerly abused, and can never deserve should be restored.

Thou seest how much cruelty among Christians is acted under the colour of Religion; as if we could not be Christians, unless we crucifie one another.

Because we have no more loved thy truth, and practised in charitie, thou hast suffered a Spirit of Errour and bitterness, of mutuall and mortall hatred to rise among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein we have sinned, and sanctifie what we have suffered.

Let our repentance be our recovery, as our great sins have been our ruine.

Let not the miseries I and my Kingdoms have hitherto suffered seem small to thee: but make our sins appear to our consciences, as they are represented in the glass of thy Judgements; for thou never punishest small failings, with so severe afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our sinnes, and remove thy judgments, which are very many, and very heavy.

Yet let our sins be ever more grievous to us, then thy judgments; and make us more willing to repent, then to be relieved; first give us the peace of penitent consciences, and then the tran-

tranquillitie of united Kingdomes.

In the Sea of our Saviours Blood drown our sins, and through this red sea of our own Blood bring us at last to a state of Piety, Peace and Plenty.

As my publick relations to all, make me share in all my Subjects suffering; so give me such a pious sense of them, as becoms a Christian King, and a loving father of my people.

Let the scandalous and unjust reproaches cast upon me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compassion; Give me grace to heap charitable coales of fire upon their heads to melt them, whose malice or cruel zeal hath kindled, or hindred the quenching of those flames, which hath so much wasted my three Kingdoms.

O rescue and assist those poor Protestants in Ireland, *whom thou hast hitherto preserved.*

And lead those in the ways of thy saving Truths, whose Ignorance or Errors have filled them with rebellious and destructive Principles, which they act under an opinion, That they do thee good service.

Let the hand of thy justice be against those who malitiously and despightfully have raised or fomented these cruel and desperate Wars.

Thou that art far from destroying the innocent which the guilty, & the erroneous with the malicious; thou that hadst pitty on Niniveh *for the many children that were therein, give us*

over the Whole ſtock of that populous and ſeduced Nation, to the wrath of thoſe, whoſe covetouſneſs makes them cruel; nor to their anger, which is too fierce, and therefore juſtly curſed.

Preſerve, if it be thy will, in the midſt of the furnace of thy ſevere juſtice, a Poſterity which may praiſe thee for thy mercie.

And deal with me, not according to mans unjuſt reproaches, but according to the innocency of my Hands in thy ſight.

If I have deſired or delighted in the wofull day of my Kingdoms calamities, If I have not earneſtly ſtudied, and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and compoſing of theſe bloody Diſtractions; then let thy hand be againſt me and my Fathers Houſe. O Lord thou ſeeſt I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, ſo ſhould I not dare thus to imprecate thy curſe on me and mine, if my Conſcience did not witneſſe my integrity, which thou, O Lord, knoweſt right well. But I truſt not to my own merit, but thy mercies; ſpare us, O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.

[13. *Upon the calling in of the* SCOTS, *and their Comming.*

THe *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Soveraignty, and Bounty, with My Father of blessed memory; but also speciall and late obligations of favours, having gratified the active Spirits among them so far, that I seemed to many to prefer the desires of that party, before My own interest and honor. But, I see, Royall bountie emboldens some men to ask, and act beyond all bounds of modesty and gratitude.

My charity, and Act of Pacification, forbids Me to reflect on former passages, wherin I shal ever be far from letting any mans ingratitude, or inconstancy, make me repent of what I granted them for the publique good: I pray God it may so prove.

The coming again of that Party into *England*, with an Army only to conforme this Church to their late New model, cannot but seem as unreasonable, as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselves.

Other errand I could never understand, they had, (besides those common and vulgar flou-

rishes

riſhes for Religion and Liberty) ſave only to confirme the Presbyterian Copy they had ſet, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloudy Characters.

Which deſign and end, whether it will juſtifie the uſe of ſuch violent means, before the divine Juſtice, I leave to their Conſciences to judge, who have already felt the miſery of the means, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdom, or that.

Such knots and croſſeneſs of grain being objected here, as will hardly ſuffer that form which they cry up, as the only juſt reformation, and ſettling of Government and Diſcipline in Churches to go on ſo ſmoothly here, as it might do in *Scotland*; and was by them imagined would have done in *England*, when ſo many of the *Engliſh* Clergy, through levity, or diſcontent, if no worſe paſſion, ſuddenly quitted their former engagements to Epiſcopacy, and faced about to their Presbytery.

It cannot but ſeem either paſſion, or ſome ſelf-ſeeking, more then true Zeal, and pious diſcretion, for any forraign State or Church to preſcribe ſuch medicins only for others, which themſelves have uſed, rather ſucceſſefully then commendably; not conſidering that the ſame Phyſick on different conſtitutions, will have different operations: That may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any such tough and malignant humours in the constitution of the *English* Church, which gentler applications then those of an Army, might not easily have removed: Nor is it so proper to hew out Religious Reformations by the sword, as to polish them by fair & equal disputations among those that are most concerned in the differences, whom not force, but reason ought to convince.

But their design now seemed rather to cut off all disputation here, then to procure a fair and equal one: For it was concluded there, That the *English* Clergy must conform to the *Scots* pattern before ever they could be heard, what they could say for themselves, or against the others way.

I could have wished fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with such violence; and for other mens Consciences too; who can receive litle satisfaction in these points which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the Field, then Scholars disputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure in matters of Religion those truths gain most on mens Judgments and Consciences, which are least urged with secular violence, which weakens truth with prejudices; and is unreasonable to be used, till such means of rational conviction hath been applied, as leaving

no

no excuse for ignorance, condemns mens obstinacy to deserved penalties.

Which no charity will easily suspect of so many learned and pious Church-men in *England*; who being alwaies bred up, and conformable to the Government of Episcopacy, cannot so soon renounce both their former opinion & practice, only because that Party of the *Scots* will needs, by force assist a like Party here, either to drive all Ministers as sheep, into the common fold of Presbyterie, or destroy them; at least fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the *Scotch* sole Presbyterie were approved to be the only Institution of Jesus Christ, for all Churches Government; yet I beleeve it would be hard to prove that Christ had given those *Scots*, or any other of my Subjects, Cōmission by the Sword, to set it up in any of my Kingdomes, without my consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostles payd to the chief governors of States, where they lived, is very cleer in the Gospel: but that he, or they ever commanded to set up such a parity of Presbyters, and in such a way as those *Scots* endeavour, I think is not very disputable.

If Presbyterie in such a Supremacy be an institution of Christ, sure it differs from all others: and is the first and only point of Chri-

ſtianity, that was to be planted and watered with ſo much Chriſtian bloud; whoſe effuſions run in a ſtream ſo contrary to that of the Primitive planters, both of Chriſtianity and Epiſcopacy, which was with patient ſhedding of their own bloud, not violently drawing other mens: ſure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Chriſt; none of whoſe inſtitutions were carried on, or begun with the temptations of Covetouſneſs or Ambition, of both which this is vehemently ſuſpected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the power which thoſe *Scots* had by an Army or Commiſſioners to move Me with, by their many Solemn obteſtations, and pious threatnings, but only this, to repreſent to me the wonderful neceſſity of ſetting up their Presbytery in *England*, to avoid the further miſeries of a War, which ſome men chiefly on this deſign at firſt had begun, & now further engaged themſelves to continue.

What hinders that any Sects, Schiſms, or Hereſies, if they can get but numbers, ſtrength and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and pattern, ſet up their wayes by the like methods of violence? all which Presbitery ſeeks to ſuppreſſe, & render odious under thoſe names: when wiſe & learned men think, that nothing hath more marks of Schiſm, and Sectariſm, then this Presbyterian way, both as to the

Ancient

Ancient, and ſtill moſt Univerſal way of the Church-government, and eſpecially as to the particular Laws and Conſtitutions of this *Engliſh* Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for me, till I ſee more Rational and Religious motives, then Souldiers uſe to carry in their Knapſacks.

But we muſt leave the ſucceſſe of all to God, who hath many wayes (having firſt taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our paſſion) to teach us thoſe rules of true Reaſon, and peaceable Wiſdom, which is from above, tending moſt to Gods glory, and his Churches good: which I think my ſelf ſo much the more bound in Conſcience to attend, with the moſt judicious zeal and care, by how much I eſteem the Church above the State, the glory of Chriſt above mine Own: and the Salvation of mens Souls above the preſervation of their Bodies and Eſtates.

Nor may any men, I think, without ſin and preſumption, forcibly endeavour to caſt the Churches under my care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied, & faſhioned to their deſigns, till they have firſt gained my conſent, and reſolved, both mine own and other mens Conſciences by the ſtrength of their Reaſons. Other violent motions, wch are neither Manly, Chriſtian, nor Loyal, ſhall never either ſhake or ſettle my Religion, nor any mans elſe who

knows what Religion means: And how far it is removed from all Faction, whose proper engine is force, the arbitrator of beasts, not of reasonable men, much lesse of humble Christians, and loyal Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves, that they care not what cost they lay out upon their opinions: especially those that have some temptation of gain, to recompence their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the *Scots* Armies coming in against my will, and their forfeiture of so many obligations of duty, and gratitude to me: then I wondred how those here, could so much distrust Gods assistance, who so much pretended Gods cause to the people, as if they had the certainty of some divine Revelation; considering they were more then competently furnished with my Subjects Arms and Ammunition, my Navie by Sea, my Forts, Castles and Cities by Land.

But I finde that men jealous of the Justificableness of their doings, and designs before God, never thinke they have humane strength enough to carry their work on, seem it never so plausible to the people; what cannot be justified in Law, and Religion, had need to be fortified with power.

And yet such is the inconstancy that attends all minds engaged in violent motion, that whom

whom some of them one while earnestly invite to come in to their assistance; others of them soon after are weary of, and with nauseating cast them out: what one party thought to rivet to a setlednes by the strength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemns; at once, despising the Kirk-government, & discipline of the *Scots*, and frustrating the successe of so chargeable, more then charitable assistance: For, sure the Church of *England* might have purchased at a far cheaper rate, the Truth & happines of Reformed Government and Discipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the best Divines of Christendom for their advice in a ful & free Synod; which, I was ever willing to, and desirous of, that matters being impartially setled, might be more satisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods justice, & mans folly will at length be discovered, through all the filmes and pretentions of Religion, in which Polititians wrap up their designes: in vaine do men hope to build their Piety on the Ruines of loyalty. Nor can those considerations or designes be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of setting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as my best Subjects of *Scotland* never deserted me, so I cannot think that the most are gone so far from me, in a prodigality of their

love

love and respects towards me, as to make me to despair of their return; when besides the bonds of Nature and Conscience which they have to me, all Reason and true Policy will teach them, That their chiefest interest consists in their fidelity to the Crown, not in their serviceableness to any Party of the People, to a neglect and betraying of my Safety and Honor for their own advantages: However the lesse cause I have to trust to men, the more I shall apply my Self to God.

The Troubles of my Soul are enlarged, O Lord, bring thou me out of my distresse.

Lord direct thy Servant in the ways of that pious simplicity, which is the best policie.

Deliver me from the combined strength of those, who have so much of the Serpents subtilty, that they forget the Doves Innocency.

Though hand joyn in hand, yet let them not prevail against my Soul, to the betraying of my Conscience and Honour.

Thou, O Lord, canst turn the hearts of those Parties in both Nations, as thou didst the men of Judah *and* Israel, *to restore* David *with as much loyal zeal, as they did with inconstancy and eagernesse pursue him.*

Preserve the love of thy truth and uprightness in me, and I shall not despair of My Subjects affections returning towards me.

Thou

Thou canst soon cause the overflowing Seas to ebbe, and retire back again to the bounds which thou hast appointed for them.

O My God, I trust in thee; let me not be ashamed; let not my enemies triumph over me.

Let them be ashamed who transgress without a cause; let them be turned back that persecute my soul.

Let integrity and uprightness preserve me, for I wait on thee O Lord.

Redeem thy Church, O God, out of all its Troubles.

14. *Vpon the Covenant.*

THe *Presbyterian Scots* are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in, have pawned their Souls to them, by a Solemn League and Covenant.

Where many engines of religious and fair pretensions are brought chiefly to batter or raze Episcopacy: This they make the grand evil Spirit, which with other Imps purposely added, to make it more odious, & terrible to the Vulgar, must by so solemn a charm & exorcism be cast out of this Church, after more then a thousand years possession here, from the first plantation of Christianity in this Island, and an universal prescription of time and practice in all other Churches since the Apostles times till this last Century.

But no Antiquity must plead for it; Presbytery like a young Heir, thinks the Father hath lived long enough, & impatient not to be in the Bishops chair and authority (though Lay-men go away with the Revenus) all art is used to sink Episcopacy, and lanch Presbytery in *England*; which was lately boyed up in *Scotland* by the late artifice of a Covenant.

Although

Although I am unſatisfied with many paſſages in that Covenant ſome referring to my ſelf with very dubious and dangerous limitations (yet I chiefly wonder at the deſign and drift touching the Diſcipline and Government of the Church; and ſuch a manner of carrying them on to new ways, by Oaths and Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no leſs, then ſwearing for, or againſt thoſe things, which are of no clear morall neceſſity, but very diſputable, and controverted among learned and godly men: whereto the application of Oaths can hardly be made and enjoyned with that judgment and certainty in ones ſelf, or that charity or candour to others of different opinion, as I think religion requires, which never refuſes fair and equable deliberations; yea, and diſſentings too, in matters only probable.

The enjoyning of Oaths upon People muſt needs in things doubtfull be dangerous, as in things unlawfull, damnable; and no leſſe ſuperfluous, where former Religious and Legal Engagements, bound men ſufficiently, to all neceſſary duties. Nor can I ſee how they will reconcile ſuch an Innovating Oath and Covenant, with their former Proteſtation which was ſo lately taken, to maintain the Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*; ſince they count Diſcipline ſo great a part of Religion.

But

But ambitious minds never think they have laid ſnares and ginnes enough to catch and hold the vulgar credulity: for by ſuch politicke and ſeemingly pious ſtratagems, they think to keep the popularity faſt to their Parties under the terrour of perjury: Whereas certainly all honeſt and wiſe men ever thought themſelves ſufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance, and lawes, to God and man.

Nor can ſuch after-contracts, deviſed and impoſed by a few men in a declared Party, without my conſent, and without any like power or preſident from Gods or mans laws, be ever thought by judicious men ſufficient either to obſolve or ſlacked thoſe moral and eternall bonds of duty which lie upon all My Subjects conſciences both to God and me.

Yet as things now ſtand, good men ſhall leaſt offend God or Me, by keeping their Covenant in honeſt and lawfull wayes; ſince I have the charity to think, that the chief end of the Covenant in ſuch mens intentions, was, to preſerve Religion in purity, and the Kingdoms in peace: To other then ſuch ends and meanes they cannot think themſelves engaged; nor will thoſe, that have any true touches of Conſcience endeavour to carry on the beſt deſignes, (much leſſe ſuch as are, and will be daily more apparently factious and ambitious)

by

by any unlawfull means, under that title of the Covenant: unleſſe they dare preferre ambiguous, dangerous and un-authorized novelties, before their known and ſworn duties, which are indeſpenſable, both to God and my ſelf.

I am prone to beleeve and hope, That many who took the Covenant, are yet firme to this judgment, That ſuch later Vowes, Oaths, or Leagues, can never blot out thoſe former gravings, and characters, which by juſt and lawfull Oaths were made upon their Souls.

That which makes ſuch Confederations by way of Solemn Leagues and Covenants more to be ſuſpected, is, That they are the common road, uſed in all factious and powerfull perturbations of State or Church: when formalities of extraordinary zeal and piety are never more ſtudied and elaborate, then, when Polititians moſt agitate deſperate deſignes againſt all that is ſetled, or ſacred in Religion, and Laws, which by ſuch ſcrues are cunningly, ye forcibly wreſted by ſecret ſteps, and leſſe ſencible degrees, from their known rule and wonted practiſe, and comply with the humours of thoſe men, who ayme to ſubdue all to their own will and power, under the diſguiſes of Holy Combinations.

Which cords and wythes will hold mens Conſciences no longer, then force attends

and

and twists them: for every man soon grows his own Pope, and easily absolves himself of those ties, which, not the commands of Gods Word, or the Laws of the Land, but only the subtilty and terrour of a Party casts upon him; either superfluous and vain, when they were sufficiently tied before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by such afterligaments they find the Imposers really ayming to dissolve, or suspend their former just and necessary obligations.

Indeed such illegall ways seldom or never intend the engaging men more to duties, but only to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Party and Design intended.

I see the Imposers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and relish, who will but swallow it: They admit any mens senses of it, the divers or contrary; with any salvoes, cautions and reservations, so as they cross not their chief Design, which is laid against the Church and me.

It is enough if they get but the reputation of a seeming encrease to their Party; so little do men remember that God is not mocked.

In such latitudes of sense, *I* beleive many that

that love Me, and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not so fondly and superstitiously taken by it, as now to act cleerly against both all piety& loyalty: who first yeelded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine, which hung over their heads in case they wholly refused it, then for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of some generall Clauses may (perhaps) serve somewhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may, in their Places and Callings*, and *according to the Word of God*: for these (indeed) carry no man beyond those bounds of good Conscience, which are certain& fixed either in Gods Laws, as to the Generall; or the Laws of the State and Kingdom, as to the particular regulation and exercise of mens duties.

I would to God such as glory most in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themselves within those lawfull bounds, to which God hath called them: surely it were the best way to expiate the rashnesse of taking it; which must needs then appear, when besides the want of a full and lawfull Authority at first to enjoyn it, it shall actually be carried on beyond and against those ends which were in it specified and pretended. I willingly forgive such mens taking the Covenant, who keep

it

it within such bounds of Piety, Law, and Loyaltie, as can never hurt either the Church, My self, or the Publick Peace: Against which, no mans lawfull Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it just or comely, that by the partiall advice of a few Divines, (of so soft and servile tempers, as disposed them to so sudden acting and compliance, contrary to their former judgements, profession, and practise) such foule scandalls and suspitions should be cast upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deserved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by any men of learning and candour at home: all whose judgments I cannot but prefer before any mens now factiously engaged.

No man can be more forward then My self to carry on all due Reformations, which mature judgment, and a good Conscience, in what things I shall (after impartiall advise) be, by Gods Word, and right reason, convinced to be amiss, I have offered more than ever the fullest, freest, and wisest Parliaments did desire.

But the sequele of some mens actions makes it evident, that the maine information intended, is the abasing of Episcopacy into Presbytery,

bytery, and the robbing of the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriously used, as to their legall Rights then the Bishops, and Church-men. These, as the fatteſt Dear, must be destroyed; the other Rascal herd of Schismes, Heresies, &c. being leane, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboth's* Vine-yard made him the onely Blasphemer of his City, and fit to die. Still I see: while the breath of Religion fills the Sailes, Profit is the compasse, by which Factious men steer their course in all seditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no man lay more open to the sacrilegious temptation of usurping the Churches Lands, and Revenues, (which issuing chiefly from the Crown, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crowne with my Consent) so I have alwayes had such a perfect abhorrence of it in my Soule, that I never found the least inclination to such sacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater desire to have Bishops and all Church-men, so reformed, that they may best deserve and use, not onely what the pious munificence of My Predecessours hath given to God and the Church, but all other additions of Christian bounty.

But no necessity shall ever, I hope, drive me or Mine to invade or sell the Priests Lands, which

which both *Pharaoh's* divinity, and *Joseph's* true piety abhorred to do: So unjust I think it both in the eye of Reason and Religion, to deprive the most sacred employment of all due incouragements; and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the Straw, and encrease the Task; so pursuing the oppressed Church as some have done, to the red Sea of a Civill War, where nothing but a miracle can save either it, or him, who esteems it his greatest Title to be called, and his chiefest glory to be *The defender of the Church, both in its true faith, and its just fruitions; equally abhoring Sacriledge and Apostacy.*

I had rather live as my Predecessour *Henry* the 3. sometime did, on the Churches alms, then violently to take the bread out of Bishops and Ministers mouths.

The next work will be *Jeroboam's* reformation, consecrating the meanest of the people to be Priests in *Israel*, to serve those Golden *Calves* who have enrich'd themselves with the Churches Patrimony and Dowry; which how it thrived both with Prince, Priests and people, is well enough known: And so it will be here, when from the tuition of Kings and Queens, which have been nursing fathers and mothers of this Church, it will be at their allowance, who have already discovered, what hard fathers and step-mothers they will be.

If the poverty of *Scotland* might, yet the plenty of *England* cannot excuse the envy and rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot so much as pray God to prevent those sad consequences, which will inevitably follow the parity and poverty of Ministers, both in Church and State; since I think it no lesse then a mocking and tempting of God, to desire him to hinder those mischiefs whose occasions and remedies are in our own power; it being every mans sin not to avoid the one, and not to use the other.

There are ways enough to repair the breaches of the State without the ruins of the Church; as I would be a restorer of the one, so I would not be an oppressor of the other under the pretence of publick Debts: The occasions contracting them were bad enough, but such a discharging of them would be much worse; I pray God neither I, nor mine, may be accessary to either.

To thee, O Lord, do I addresse my Prayer, beseeching thee to pardon the rashness of my Subjects Swearings, and to quicken their sense and observation of those just, morall and indispensable bonds, which thy word and the Laws of this Kingdom have laid upon their Consciences; From which no pretensions of Pi ty & reformation

formation are sufficient to absolve them; or to engage them to any contrary practises.

Make them at length seriously to consider that nothing violent and injurious caa be religious.

Thou alloweſt no mans committing Sacriledge under the zeal of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not sacrilegious designs to have the countenance of religious ties.

Thou haſt taught us by the wiſeſt of Kings, that it is a snare to take things that are holy, and Vows to mak enquiry,

Ever keep thy Servant from consenting to perjurious and sacraligeous rapinei, that I may not have the brand and curse to all posterity of robing Thee and thy Church, of what thy bounty hath given us, and thy clomencie hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though My Treasures are Exhauſted, My Revenues Diminiſhed, and My Debts Encreaſed, yet never ſuffer Me to be tempted to uſe ſuch profane Reparation; leſt a coal from thine Altar ſet ſuch a fire on My Throne and Conſcience as will hardly be quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publique, which ſome mens folly and prodigalitie hath contracted, be an occaſion to impoveriſh thy Church.

The State may ſoon recover, by thy bleſſing of peace upon us; The Church is never likely, in

times,

times, where the Charity of most men is grown so cold, and their Religion so illiberall.

Continue to those that serve Thee and thy Church all those encouragements, which by the will of the pious Donours, and the justice of the Laws are due unto them; and give them grace to deserve and use them aright to thy glory, & the relief of the poor: That thy Priests may be cloathed with righteousnesse, and the poor may be satisfied with bread.

Let not holy things be given to Swine; nor the Churches bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the City, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let those sacred morsels, which some men have already by violence devoured, never digest with them, nor theirs: Let them be to Naboth's *Vineyard to* Ahab, *gall in their mouths, rottennesse to their names, a mark to their families, and a sting to their Consciences.*

Break in sunder O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations to do wickedly and injuriously.

Divide these hearts and tongues who have bandyed together against the Church and State, that the folly of such may be manifest to all men, and proceed no further.

But so favour My righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the meeies of thee, the most High, I may never miscarry.

15. *Upon the many Jealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the* KING, *to stirre up the People against him.*

IF *I* had not My own Innocency, and Gods protection, it were hard for Me to stand out against those stratagems and conflicts of malice, which by falsities seek to oppresse the Truth; and by Jealousies to supply the defect of reall causes, which might seem to justifie so unjust ingagements against Me.

And indeed, the worst effects of open hostility come short of these designes: For, *I* can more willingly lose My Crownes, then My credit; nor are My Kingdomes so dear to Me, as My Reputation and Honor.

Those must have a period with my life; but these may survive to a glorious kind of Immortality, when I am dead and gone: A good name being the imbalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an Eternity of love and gratitude among Posterity.

Those foul and false aspersions were secret engines at first employed against My peoples love to Me: that undermining their opinion and value of Me, My enemies, and theirs too might

might at one blow up their affections, and batter down their loyalty.

Wherein yet, I thank God, the detriment of My Honor is not so afflictive to Me, as the sin and danger of My peoples souls, whose eyes once blinded with such mists of suspicions, they are soon misled into the most desperate precipices of actions: wherein they do not only, not consider their sin and danger, but glory in their zealous adventures; while I am rendred to them so fit to be destroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of My Destroyers; Imagining they then fear God most, when they least honor their King.

I thank God, I never found but My pity was above My anger; nor have My passions ever so prevailed against me, as to exclude My most compassionate prayers for them, whom devout errours more then their own malice have betrayed to a most religious Rebellion.

I had the Charity to interpret, that most part of My Subjects fought against My supposed Errours, not My person; and intended to mend Me, not to end Me: And I hope that God pardoning their Errours, hath so farre accepted and answered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preserved Me; so he hath by these afflictions prepared me, both to do him better service, and My people more good then hitherto I have done.

I do not more willingly forgive their seductions, which occasioned their loyall injuries, then I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjust suspicions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conscious to My own affections toward the generality of my people to suspect theirs to Me; nor shall the malice of My Enemies ever be able to deprive Me of the comfort which that confidence gives Me; I shall never gratifie the spightfulnesse of a few with any sinister thoughts of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have seduced.

The worst some mens ambition can do, shall never perswade Me, to make so bad interpretations of most of My Subjects actions; who possibly may be erroneous, but not Heretical in point of Loyalty.

The sence of the injuries done to My Subjects is as sharp, as those done to My Self; our welfares being inseparable; in this only they suffer more then My self, that they are animated by some seducers ro injure at once both themselves and Me.

For this it is not enough to the malice of My Enemies, that I be afflicted; but it must be done by such instruments, that My afflictions grieve Me not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by those, whose prosperity I earnestly

neſtly deſire, and whoſe ſeduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been my open and forraign Enemies, I could have born it; but they muſt be My own Subjects, who are next to My Children dear to me: And for the reſtoring of ſome tranquillity, I could willingly be the *Jonah*, if I did not evidently fore-ſee, that by the divided intereſts of their and Mine Enemies, as by contrary winds, the ſtorm of their miſeries would be rather increaſed then allayed.

I had rather prevent my peoples ruin then rule over them; nor am I ſo ambitious of that Dominion which is but My Right, as of their happineſs; If it could expiate or countervail ſuch a way of obtaining it, by the higheſt injuries of ſubjects committed againſt their Soveraign.

Yet I had rather ſuffer all the miſeries of life, and die many deaths, then ſhamefully to deſert, or diſhonourable to betray My own juſt Rights and Soveraignty; thereby to gratifie the ambition, or juſtifie the malice of my enemies; between whoſe malice, and other mens miſtakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinary Ague and the Plague; or the Itch of Novelty, and the Leproſie of Diſloyalty.

As Liars need have good memories, ſo ma-

licious persons need good inventions; that their calumnies may fit every mans fancy; and what their reproaches want of truth, they may make up with numbers and shew.

My patience (I thank God) wil better serve Me to bear, and My charity to forgive, then My leisure to answer the many false Aspersions which some men have cast upon Me.

Did I not more consider My Subjects Satisfaction, then my owne Vindication, I should never have given the malice of some men that pleasure, as to see me take notice of, or remember what they say, or object.

I would leave the Authors to be punished by their own evill manners, and seared Consciences, which will, I believe, in a shorter time then they be aware of, both confute and revenge all those black and false Scandals which they have cast on me; And make the world see, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them, or Civility, (I need not say Loyalty) in the not suppressing of them; whose credit and reputation, even with the people, shall ere long be quite blasted by the breath of that same fornace of popular obloquy, and detraction, which they have studied to heat and inflame to the highest degree of infamy, and wherein they have sought to cast and consume My Name and Honor.

First,

First, nothing gave me more cause to suspect, and search mine own innocencie, then when I observed so many forward to engage against me, who had made great professions of singular piety; For this gave to Vulgar minds so bad a reflection upon me and my Cause, as if it had been impossible to adhere to me, and not withall part from God; to think or speak well of me, and not to blaspheme him; so many were perswaded that these two were utterly inconsistent, to be at once Loyall to Me, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with me, which were both learned and Religious, (much above that ordinary size, and that Vulgar proportion wherein some men glory so much) who were so well satisfied in the cause of my sufferings, that they chose rather to suffer with me, then forsake me.

Nor is it strange, that so religious Pretensions as were used against me, should be to many well-minded men a great temptation to oppose me; especially, being urged by such popular Preachers as think it no sin to lie for God, and what they please to call Gods Cause, cursing all that will not curse with them; looking so much at, and crying up the goodnesse of the end propounded, that they consider not the lawfulness of the means used,

not the depth of the miſchief, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakneſs of theſe mens judgments muſt be made up by their clamours and activity.

It was a great part of ſome mens Religion to ſcandalize me and mine; they thought theirs could not be true, if they cried not down Mine as falſe.

I thank God, I have had more triall of his grace, as to the conſtancy of my Religion in the Proteſtant profeſſion of the Church of *England*, both abroad, and at home, then ever they are like to have.

Nor do *I* know any exception I am ſo liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixedneſs in that Religion, whoſe judicious and ſolid grounds, both from Scripture, and Antiquity, will not give my conſcience leave to approve or conſent to thoſe many dangerous and divided innovations, which the bold ignorance of ſome men would needs obtrude upon me, and my people.

Contrary to thoſe well tried foundations both of Truth, and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have ſetled in the Confeſſion and Conſtitution of this Church in *England*, which many former Parliaments in the moſt calm, and unpaſſionate times, have oft confirmed; In which I ſhall ever, by Gods help, perſevere, as believing

ceving it hath moſt of primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did my uſing the aſſiſtance of ſome Papiſts, which were my Subjects, any way fight againſt my Religion, as ſome men would needs interpret it: eſpecially thoſe who leaſt of all men cared whom they imployed, or what they ſaid and did, ſo they might prevail.

'Tis ſtrange that ſo wiſe men, as they would be eſteemed, ſhould not conceive, That differences of perſwaſion in matters of Religion may eaſily fall out, where there is the ſameneſſe of duty, Allegeance and ſubjection: The firſt they owe as men and Chriſtians to God; the ſecond they owe to me in common, as their KING: different profeſſions in point of Religion cannot (any more then in civill Trades) take away the community of relations either to Parents, or to Princes. And where is there ſuch an *Oglio* or medly of various Religions in the world again, as thoſe men entertain in their ſervice (who finde moſt fault with me) without any ſcruple, as to the diverſity of their Sects and Opinions!

It was, indeed, a foul and indelea'le ſhame, for ſuch as would be counted Proteſtants, to inforce Me, a declared Proteſtant, their Lord and King, to a neceſſary uſe of Papiſts, or any other, who did but their duty to help Me to defend my ſelf.

Nor did I more then is lawful for any King, in such exigents to use the aid of any his Subjects.

I am sorry the Papists should have a greater sense of their Allegeance then many Protestant Professors; who seem to have learned, and to practise the worst Principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed, it had been a very impertinent and unseasonable scruple in me, (and very pleasing, no doubt to my Enemies) to have been then disputing the points of different beliefs in my Subjects, when I was disputed with by Swords points: and when I needed the help of my Subjects as men, no lesse then their prayers as Christians.

The noise of my evill Counsellours was another usefull device for those, who were impatient any mens counsels but their own should be followed in Church or State; who were so eager in giving me better counsel, that they would not give me leave to take it with freedom, as a Man; or honour, as a King; making their Counsels more like a drench, that must be powred down, then a draught, which might be fairly and leisurely drank, if I liked it.

I will not justifie beyond humane errour and frailties my Self, or my Counsellours: They might be subject to some miscarriages, yet

yet such as were far more reparable by secon and better thoughts, then those enormou extravagances wherewith some men hav now even wildred, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things at last will make it evi dent to my Subjects, that had I followed th worst Counsels that my worst Counsellour ever had the boldnesse to offer to me, or my Self any inclination to use; I could not so soon have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdoms, to such a *Chaos* of confusion, and hell of miseries as some have done; out of which they cannot, or will not, in the midst of their many great advantages, redeem either Me, or my Sub jects.

No men were more willing to complain, then I was to redresse what I saw in reason was either done or advised amisse: and this I thought I had done, even beyond the expecta tion of moderate men: who were sorry to see me prone even to injure my Self, out of a zeal to relieve my Subjects.

But other mens insatiable desire of revenge upon Me, my Court, and my Clergie, hath wholly beguiled both Church and State of the benefit of all my either Retractations or Concessions; and withall, hath deprived all those (now so zealous Persecutors) both of the com-

comfort and reward of their former pretended Perſecutions, wherein they ſo much gloryed among the Vulgar; and which, indeed a truly humbly Chriſtian will ſo highly prize, as rather not be relieved, then be revenged, ſo as to be bereaved of that Crown of Chriſtian patience, which attends humble and injured ſufferers.

Another artifice uſed to withdraw my peoples affections from me to their deſignes, was, the noiſe and oſtentation of Liberty, which men are not more prone to deſire, then unapt to bear in the popular ſenſe; which is to doe what every man liketh beſt.

If the divineſt Liberty be to will what men ſhould, and to do what they ſo will, according to Reaſon, Laws and Religion; I envie not my Subjects that liberty, which is all I deſire to enjoy my ſelf; So far am I from the deſire of oppreſſing theirs. Now were thoſe Lords and Gentlemen which aſſiſted me, ſo prodigal of their Liberties, as with their Lives and Fortunes to help on the enſlaving of themſelves and their Poſterities?

As to Civil Immunities, none but ſuch as deſire to drive on their ambitious and covetous Deſignes over the ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peers, and People, will ever deſire greater Freedoms then the Laws allow; whoſe bounds good men count their

Orna-

Ornament and Protection; others their Manacles and Oppression.

Nor is it just any man should expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who despiseth his rule and direction, losing justly his Safety, while he seeks an unreasonable Libertie.

Time will best inform my Subjects, that those are the best preservers of their true Liberties, who allow themselves the least licentiousnesse against or beyond the Laws.

They will feel it at last to their cost, that it is impossible those men should be really tender of their fellow-subjects liberties, who have the hardinesse to use their King with so severe restraints, against all Laws, both Divine and Humane; under which yet I will rather perish, then complain to those, who want nothing to compleat their mirth and triumph, but such musick.

In point of true conscientious tenderneſſe (attended with humility and meekneſſe, not with proud and arrogant activity, which seeks to hatch every egg of different opinion to a Faction or Schism) I have oft declared, how little I desire my Laws and Scepter should intrench on Gods Soveraignty, which is the onely King of mens Consciences; and yet he hath laid such restraints upon men, as commands them to be subject for conscience sake, giving

iving no men liberty to break the Law eſta-
liſhed, further then with meekneſſe and pa-
ience they are content to ſuffer the penal-
y annexed, rather then perturb the publick
Peace.

The truth is, ſome mens thirſt after Novel-
ies, others deſpair to relieve the neceſſities of
their Fortunes, or ſatisfie their Ambition in
peaceable times, (diſtruſting Gods provi-
dence, as well as their own merits) were the
ſecret (but principal) impulſives to theſe po-
pular Commotions, by which Subjects have
been perſwaded to expend much of thoſe
plentifull Eſtates they got, and enjoyed under
my Government in peaceable times; which
yet muſt now be blaſted with all the odious
reproaches which impotent malice can in-
vent; and my Self expoſed to all thoſe con-
tempts, which may moſt diminiſh the Majeſty
of a King, and increaſe the ingratefull inſolen-
cies of my People.

For mine Honour, I am well aſſured, that
as mine Innocency is clear before God, in
point of any calumnies they object; ſo my Re-
putation ſhall like the Sun (after Owls and
Bats have had their freedom in the night and
darker times) riſe and recover it ſelf to ſuch a
degree of ſplendour, as thoſe ſerall Birds
ſhall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear.
For never were any Princes more glorious,
then

hen thoſe whom God hath ſuffered to be tri-
d in the fournace of afflictions, by their injus-
ious Subjects.

And who knows but the juſt and mercifull
od will do me good, for ſome mens hard,
lſe and evill ſpeeches againſt Me; wherein
hey ſpeak rather what they wiſh, then what
hey beleeve, or know.

Nor can I ſuffer ſo much in point of Ho-
our, by thoſe rude and ſcandalous Pamphlets,
(which like fire in great conflagrations, fly up
nd down to ſet all places on like flames)
s thoſe men do, who pretending to ſo
much piety, are ſo forgetfull of their duty to
God and Me: By no way ever vindicating
the Majeſty of their KING againſt any of
thoſe, who contrary to the precept of God,
and precedent of Angels, *ſpeak evil of digni-
ties, and bring railing accuſations againſt thoſe*
who are honoured with the name of *Gods*.

But 'tis no wonder if men not fearing God,
ſhould not honour their KING.

They will eaſily contemn ſuch ſhadows of
God, who reverence not that Supreme and
adorable Majeſtie, in compariſon of whom all
the glory of Men and Angels is but obſcurity;
yet hath he graven ſuch Characters of divine
Authority, and ſacred Power upon Kings, as
none may without ſin ſeek to blot them out.
Nor ſhall their black veils be able to hide the
ſhining

shining of my face, while God gives me an heart frequently and humbly to converse with him, from whom alone are all the traditions of true glory and majestie.

Thou, O Lord, knowest my reproach, and my dishonour; my adversaries are all before thee.

My soul is among Lions, among them that are set on fire, even the sons of men; whose teeth are spears and arrows, their tongue a sharp sword.

Mine enemies reproach me all the day long, and those that are mad against me, are sworn together.

O my God, how long shall the sons of men turn my glory into shame? how long shall they love vanity, and seek after lies?

Thou hast heard the reproaches of wicked men on every side. Hold not thy peace, lest my Enemies prevail against me, and lay mine honour in the dust.

Thou, O Lord, shalt destroy them that speak lies; the Lord will abhor both the blood-thirsty and deceitfull men.

Make my righteousnesse to appear as the light, and mine innocencie to shine forth as the Sun at noon-day.

Suffer not my silence to betray mine innocence, nor my displeasure, my patience; That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile again; and bring cursed by them, I may bless them.

Thou

Thou that wouldst not suffer Shimei's *tongue to go unpunished; when by thy judgements on* David *he migh seem to justifie his disdainfull reproaches, give me grace to intercede with thy mercy for these my enemies, that the reward of false and lying tongues, even hot burning coales of eternall fire, may not be brought upon them.*

Let my prayers, and patience, be as water to coole and quench their tongues, who are already set on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with those malitious flames.

Let me be happy to refute, and put to silence their evill speaking by well-doing; and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of my prayer for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach me Davids *patience and* Hezekiah's *devotion, that I may look to thy mercy through mans malice and see thy justice in their sin.*

Let Sheba's *seditious speeches,* Rabshekah's *railing, and* Shimei's *cursing, provoke, as my humble prayer to thee, so thy renued blessing towards me.*

Though they curse, do thou bless, and I shall be blessed; and made a blessing to my people.

That the stone, which some builders refuse, may become the head-stone of the corner.

Look down from heaven, and save me, from the reproach of them that would swallow me up.

Hide me in the secret of thy presence, from the pride of man, and keep me from the strife of tongues.

16. *Upon*

16. *Upon the Ordinance against the Common-Prayer Book.*

IT is no newes to have all Innovations uſhered in with the name of Reformations in Church and State, by thoſe, who ſeeking to gain reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary parts, and piety, muſt needs undoe what ever was formerly ſetled never ſo well and wiſely.

So hardly can the pride of thoſe that ſtudy Novelties, allow former times any ſhare or degree of wiſedom or godlineſs.

And becauſe matter of prayer and devotion to God juſtly bears a great part in Religion, (being the ſoules more immediate converſe with the divine Majeſty) nothing could be more plauſible to the people then to tell them, they ſerved God amiſs in that point.

Hence our publike Liturgy, or Forms of conſtant Prayers muſt be (not amended, in what upon free and publick advice might ſeem to ſober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I ſhould eaſily conſent, but) wholly caſhiered, and aboliſhed, and after many popular contempts offered to the Booke, and thoſe that uſed it according to their conſciences, and the Lawes in force, it muſt be crucified

crucified by an Ordinance the better to please either those men, who gloried in their extemporary veine and fluency: or others, who conscious to their own formality in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sin of not using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a totall rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadness of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, sober and learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavils and exceptions of those who thought it a part of piety to make what profane objections they could against it; especially for Popery and Superstition; whereas no doubt the Liturgy was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the Church of *England*; & this by all Reformed Churches is confessed to be most sound and Orthodox.

For the manner of using set and prescribed Forms, there is no doubt but that wholsome words being known and fitted to mens understandings, are soonest received into their hearts, and aptest to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor doe I see any reason why Christians should be weary of a well-composed Liturgie (as I hold this to be) more then of all other things, wherein the constancy abates nothing of the excellency and usefulness.

I could never see any Reason, why any Christian

ſtian ſhould abhor, or be forbidden to uſe the ſame Forms of prayer, ſince he prayes to the ſame God, believes in the ſame Saviour, profeſſeth the ſame Truths, reads the ſame Scriptures, hath the ſame duties upon him, and feels the ſame daily wants for the moſt part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as well beforehand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; and in what word, as to what ſenſe; when we deſire the ſame things, what hinders we may not uſe the ſame words? our appetite and digeſtion too may be good, when we uſe, as we pray for, *our daily bread.*

Some men, I hear, are ſo impatient not to uſe in all their devotions their own invention and gifts, that they not only diſuſe (as too many) but wholly caſt away and contemn the *Lords Prayer*: whoſe great guilt is, that it is the warrant and originall patern of all ſet Liturgies in the Chriſtian Church.

I ever thought that the proud oſtentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vain affectation of variety for expreſſions, in publike prayer, or any ſacred adminiſtrations, merits a greater brand of ſin, then that which they call coldneſs and Barrenneſs: Nor are men in thoſe novelties leſs ſubject to formall and ſuperficiall tempers, (as to their hearts) then

then in the use of constant Forms, where not the words, but mens hearts are too blame.

I make no doubt but a man may be very formall in the most extemporary variety; & very fervently devout in the most wonted expressions: Nor is God more a God of variety, than of constancy: Nor are constant Forms of prayers more likely to flat, and hinder the Spirit of Prayer and Devotion, than an unpremeditated and confused variety, to distract and lose it.

Though I am not against a grave, modest, discreet, and humble use of Ministers gifts, even in publique, the better to fit, and excite their owne, and the peoples affections to the present occasions: yet I know no necessity why private and single abilities should quite justle out, & deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men; such as the Composers of the Service-Book were; who may in all reason be thought to have more of gifts & graces enabling them to compose with serious deliberation & concurrent advice, such Forms of prayers, as may best fit the Churches common wants, inform the Hearers understanding, and stir up that fiduciary and fervent application of their spirits (wherein consists the very life and soul of prayer, and that so much pretended Spirit of prayer) then any

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private man by his ſolitary abilities, can be preſumed to have; which, what they are many times (even there, where they make a great noiſe and ſhew) the affectations, emptineſſe, impertinency, rudeneſſe, confuſions, flatneſſe, levity, obſcurity, vain and ridiculous repetitions, the ſenſleſſe, and oft-times blaſphemous expreſſions; all theſe burthened with a moſt tedious and intolerable length, do ſufficiently convince all men, but thoſe who glory in that Phariſaick way.

Wherein men muſt be ſtrangely impudent, and flatterers of themſelves, not to have an infinite ſhame of what they do and ſay, in things of ſo ſacred a nature, before God and the Church, after ſo ridiculous, and indeed, profane a manner.

Not can it be expected, but that in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramentall adminiſtrations, and the like, which are ſtill the ſame; Miniſters muſt either come to uſe their own Forms conſtantly, which are not like to be ſo ſound, or comprehenſive of the nature of the duty, as forms of publike compoſure; or elſe they muſt every time affect new expreſſions when the ſubject is the ſame; which can hardly be preſumed in any mans greateſt ſufficiencies not to want (many times) much of that compleatneſſe, order, and gravity, becoming thoſe duties; which by this meanes

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are exposed at every celebration to every Ministers private infirmities, indispositions, errours, disorders, and defects, both for judgement and expression.

A serious sense of which inconvenience in the Church unavoidably following every mans severall manner of officiating, no doubt, first occasioned the wisdome and piety of the Ancient Churches, to remedy those mischiefs, by the use of constant Liturgies of publike composure.

The want of which I believe this Church will sufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits of many mens ungoverned ignorance, and confident defects, shall be discovered in more errours, schismes, disorders, and uncharitable distractions in Religion, which are already but too many, and the more is the pitie.

However, if violence must needs bring in and abet those innovations, (that men may not seem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reason, and Religion forbids, at least to be so obtruded, as wholly to justle out the publike Liturgy;

Yet nothing can excuse that most unjust and partiall severity of those men, who either lately had subscribed to, used and maintained the Service-book; or refused to use it, cried out of the rigour of Laws and Bishops, which suffered them not to use the Liberty of

their

their Conſciences in not uſing it.

That theſe men, (I ſay) ſhould ſo ſuddenly change the Liturgy into a Directory, as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expreſſions; or as if matter preſcribed did not as much ſtint and obſtruct the Spirit, as if it were cloathed in, and confined to fit words (ſo ſlight & eaſie is that Legerdemain which will ſerve to delude the vulgar.)

That further, they ſhould uſe ſuch ſeverity as not to ſuffer without penalty, any to uſe the Common-Prayer-Book publikely, although their conſciences bind them to it, as a duty of Piety to God, and Obedience to the Laws.

Thus I ſee, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exactors upon others to conform to their illegall novelties, then ſuch, whoſe pride was formerly leaſt diſpoſed to the obedience of lawfull Conſtitutions; and whoſe licentious humours moſt pretended conſciencious liberties, which freedome, with much regret, they now allow to Me, and My Chaplains, when they may have leave to ſerve Me, whoſe abilities, even in their extemporary way comes not ſhort of the others, but their modeſty and learning far exceeds the moſt of them.

But this matter is of ſo popular a nature, as ſome men knew it would not bear learned and ſober debates, leſt being convinced by the evidence

dence of Reaſon, as well as Laws, they ſhould have been driven either to ſin more againſt their knowledge, by taking away the Liturgie; or to diſpleaſe ſome faction of the people, by continuing the uſe of it.

Though, I beleeve, they have offended more conſiderable men, not onely for their numbers and eſtates, but for their weighty and judicious piety, then thoſe are, whoſe weakneſſe or giddineſſe they ſought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greateſt faults ſome men found with the Common-Prayer-Book, I beleeve, was this, That it taught them to pray ſo oft for Me; to which Petitions they had not Loyaltie enough to ſay *Amen*, nor yet Charitie enough to forbear Reproaches, and even Curſings of Me in their own Forms, inſtead of praying for Me.

I wiſh their repentance may be their onely puniſhment; that ſeeing the miſchiefs, which the diſuſe of publick Liturgies hath already produced, they may reſtore that credit, uſe and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to ſet Forms of ſound and wholſom words.

And thou, O Lord, which art the ſame God, bleſſed for ever, whoſe Mercies are full of varietie, and yet of conſtancie; Thou denieſt us not a

new and fresh sense of our old and daily wants, nor despisest renewed affections joyned to constant expressions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Churches united and well advised Devotions.

Let the matters of our praiers be agreeable to thy will which is always the same, and the fervency of our spirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us.

And then we doubt not, but thy spirituall perfections are such as thou art neither to be pleased with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious constancy of our petitions in them both.

Whose varietie or constancie thou hast no where either forbidden or commanded but left them to the piety and prudence of thy Church, that both may be used, neither despised.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgements in matters of Religion; that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly use, to help their infirmities.

And since the advantage of Error consists in novelty & variety, as truths in unity and constancy: Suffer not thy Church to be pestered with errours, and deformed with undecencies in thy service, under the pretence of variety and neveltie. Nor to be deprived of truth, unitie, and

rder under this fallacy, That conſtancie is the cauſe of formality.

Lord, keepe us from formall Hypocriſie in our own Hearts, and then we know that praying to thee, or praiſing of thee (with David, *and other Holy men) in the ſame formes cannot hurt us.*

Give us wiſdom to amend what is amiſs within us, and there will be leſs to mend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blind zeale and over-bold devotion.

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17. *Of the differences between the* KING *and the two Houſes, in Point of Church-Government.*

TOuching the Government of the Church by Biſhops, the common Jealouſie hath been, that I am earneſt and reſolute to maintain it, not ſo much out of pietie, as policie, and reaſon of State.

Wherein ſo far indeed reaſon of State doth induce me to approve that Government above any other, as I find it impoſſible for a Prince to preſerve the State in quiet, unleſſe he hath ſuch an influence upon Church-men, nd they ſuch a dependance on Him, as may

beſt reſtraine the ſeditious exorbitancies of Miniſters tougues; who with the Keyes of Heaven have ſo far the Keyes of the Peoples hearts, as they prevail much by their Oratory to let in, or ſhut out, both *Peace* and Loyalty.

So that I being (as King) intruſted by God, and the Lawes, with the good both of Church and State; I ſee no Reaſon I ſhould give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reaſon I ought to have over both.

The moving Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers (of which I have elſwhere given an account) was ſufficient to take off any ſuſpicion, that I inclined to them for any uſe to be made of their Votes in State affaires: Though indeed I never thought any Biſhop worthy to ſit in that Houſe, who would not Vote according to his Conſcience.

I muſt now in Charity be thought deſirous to preſerve that Government in its Right conſtitution, as a matter of Religion; wherein both my judgement is fully ſatisfied, that it hath of all other the fulleſt Scripture grounds, and alſo the conſtant practiſe of all Chriſtian Churches; till of late years, the tumultuarineſſe of People, or the factiouſneſſe and pride of Presbyters, or the covetouſneſſe of ſome States and Princes, gave occaſion to ſome mens wits to invent new models, and propoſe them

them under ſuſpicious titles of *Chriſts government, Scepter, and Kingdom*; the better to ſerve their turns, to whom the change was beneficiall.

They muſt give me leave, (having none of their temptations to invite me to alter the Government of Biſhops, (that I may have a title to their Eſtates) not to beleeve their pretended grounds to any new waies: contrary to the full, and conſtant teſtimony of all Hiſtories ſufficiently convincing unbiaſed men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apoſtles and their immediate Succeſſours the firſt & beſt Biſhops: ſo it cannot in reaſon or charity be ſuppoſed, that all Churches in the world ſhould either be ignorant of the rule by them preſcribed, or ſo ſoon deviate from their divine & holy pattern: That ſince the firſt Age, for 1500 years not one Example can be produced of any ſetled Church, wherein were many Miniſters and Congregations, which had not ſome Biſhop above them, under whoſe juriſdiction and government they were.

Whoſe conſtant and univerſall practiſe agreeing with ſo large and evident Scripture-directions, and examples, are ſet down in the Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, for the ſetling of that Government not in the perſons onely of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the ſucceſſion;

(the want of Government being that, which the Church can no more dispence with, in point of wel-being, then the want of the word and Sacrament in point of being.)

I wonder how men came to looke with so envious an eye upon Bishops power and authority, as to over-see both the Ecclesiasticall use of them, and Apostolicall constitution: which to me seems no lesse evidently set forth, as to the maine scope and designe of those Epistles, for the setling of a peculiar Office, Power, and Authority in them as President-Bishops above others, in point of Ordination, Censures, and other acts of Ecclesiasticall discipline; then those shorter characters of the qualities and duties of Presbyter-Bishops, and Deacons are described in some parts of the same Epistles; who in the latitude & community of the name were then, and may now not improperly be called Bishops; as to the oversight and care of single Congregations, committed to them by the Apostles, or those Apostolicall Bishops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) succeeded them in that ordinary power, there assigned over larger divisions in which were many presbyters.

The humility of those first Bishops avoiding the eminent title of Apostles as a name in the Churches stile appropriated from its common notion (*of a Messenger, or one sent*) to that speciall

ſpeciall dignity, which had extraordinary call, miſſion, gifts and power immediately from Chriſt: they contented themſelves with the ordinary titles of Biſhops and Presbyters, untill Uſe (the great Arbitrator of words, and Maſter of Language) finding reaſon to diſtinguiſh by a peculiar name thoſe perſons, whoſe Power and Office were indeed diſtinct from, and above all other in the Church, as ſucceeding the Apoſtles in the ordinary and conſtant power of governing the Churches, (the honour of whoſe name they moderately, yet commendably declined) all Chriſtian Churches (ſubmitting to that ſpecial Authority) appropriated alſo the name of Biſhop, without any ſuſpicion or reproach of arrogancie, to thoſe who were by Apoſtolicall propagation rightly deſcended and inveſted into that higheſt and largeſt power of governing even the moſt pure and Primitive Churches: which, without all doubt, had many ſuch holy Biſhops, after the pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus*; whoſe ſpecial power is not more clearly ſet down in thoſe Epiſtles (the chief grounds and limits of all Epiſcopall claim, as from divine Right) then are the characters of theſe perilous times and thoſe men that make them ſuch; who not enduring ſound Doctrine, and clear teſtimonies of all Churches practice, are moſt perverſe Diſputers, and proud Uſurpers, againſt

true Epiſcopacy: who if they be not Traytours and Boaſters, yet they ſeem to be very covetous, heady, high-minded; inordinate and fierce, lovers of themſelves, having much of the form, little of the power of godlineſſe

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, ſeek to over-lay and ſmother the pregnancy & authority of that power of Epiſcopall Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacy of names, is moſt convincingly ſet forth, both by Scripture, and all after Hiſtories of the Church,

This I write rather likea Divine, then a Prince, that Poſterity may ſee (if ever theſe papers be publique) that I had faire grounds both from Scripture-Canons, and Eccleſiaſticall examples whereon my judgement was ſtated for Epiſcopall Government.

Nor was it any pollicy ofState or obſtinacy of will, or partiallity of affection, either to the men, or their Function which fixed me; who cannot in point of worldly reſpects be ſo conſiderable to me as to recompence the injuries andloſſes I and my deareſt relations with my Kingdomes have ſuſtained, and hazarded, chiefly at firſt upon this quarrell.

And not only in Religion, of which, Scripture is the beſt rule, and the Churches Univerſall practiſe the beſt commentary, but alſo in right reaſon, and the true nature of Government

vernment, it cannot be thought, that an orderly Subordination among Presbyters, or Ministers, should be any more against Christianity, then it is in all secular and civill Governments, where Parity breeds confusion and faction.

I can no more beleeve, that such Order is inconsistent with true Religion, then good features are with beautie, or numbers with harmonie.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed several Orders, and a Prelacy, in the Government of his Church among the Jewish Priests, should abhor or forbid them amongst Christian Ministers; who have as much of the principles of Schism and division as other men; for preventing and suppressing of which, the Apostolical wisdom (which was Divine) after that Christians were multiplied to many Congregations, and Presbyters with them appointed this way of Government, which might best preserve Order and Union with Authority.

So that, I conceive, it was not the favour of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters; but the wisdom and piety of the Apostles, that first setled Bishops in the Church; which Authority they constantly used and enjoyned in those times, which were purest for Religion, though sharpest for Persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of this

Presidency and Authority in one man, by the joynt Councell and consent of many Presbyters: I have offered to restore that, as a fit meanes to avoid those Errours, Corruptions, and Partialities, which are incident to any one man: Also to avoid Tyranny, which becomes no Christians, least of all Church-men; besides, it will be a means to take away that burden, and *odium* of affairs, which may lie too heavy on one mans shoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Bishops here.

Nor can I see what can be more agreeable both to Reason and Religion, then such a frame or Goverment which is paternall, not Magisterical; and wherein not onely the necessity of avoiding Faction and Confusion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to arise among equals in power and function; but also the differences of some Ministers gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to those Abilities wherin they are Eminent.

Nor is this judgement of mine touching Episcopacy, any re-occupation of opinion, which will not admit any oppositions against it: It is well known I have endeavoured to satisfie my self in what the chief Patrons for other wayes can say against this, or for theirs: And I find they have, as far lesse of Scripture grounds, and of Reason; so for examples,

amples and practice of the Church, or testimonies of Histories, they are wholly destitute; wherein the whole stream runs so for Episcopacy, that there is not the least rivulet for any others.

As for those obtruded examples of some late reformed Churches (for many retain Bishops still) whom necessity of Times and Affairs rather excuseth, then commendeth for their inconformity to all Antiquity; I could never see any reason why Churches orderly reformed, and governed by Bishops, should be forced to conform to those few, rather then to the Catholick Example of all ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And to those Churches at this day, who governed by Bishops in all the Christian world, are many more then Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to be; All whom the Churches in my three Kingdoms, lately Governed by Bishops, would equalize (I think), if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wisdom or charitie, where Christians differ (as many do in some points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Christian world (except an handfull of some Protestants) so great a scandall in point of Church-Government; whom, though you may convince of their Errours in some points of Doctrine; yet you shall

ſhall never perſwade them, that to compleat their Reformation, they muſt neceſſarily deſert, and wholly caſt off that Government, which they, and all before them have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive, and Apoſtolical, ſo far, that never Schiſmaticks nor Hereticks (except thoſe Arrians) have ſtrayed from the Unitie and Conformitie of the Church in that point; ever having Biſhops above Preſbyters.

Beſides, the late generall approbation and ſubmiſſion to this Government of Biſhops, by the Clergy, as well as the Laitie of theſe Kingdomes, is a great confirmation of my Judgment; and their inconſtancie is a great prejudice againſt their noveltie: I cannot in charity ſo far doubt of their Learning or Integrity, as if they underſtood not what heretofore they did; or that they did conform contrary to their Conſciences: So that their facility and levity is never to be excuſed, who, before ever the point of Church-government had any free & impartiall Debate, contrary to their former Oathes and Practice, againſt their obedience to the Lawes in force, and againſt my Conſent, have not onely quite cryed down the Government by Biſhops; but have approved and incouraged the violent and moſt illegall ſtripping all the Biſhops, and many other Church-men, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to

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the ſelling away, and utter alienation of thoſe Church-lands from any Eccleſiaſtical uſes: So great a power hath the ſtream of times, and the prevalency of parties over ſome mens judgments; of whoſe ſo ſudden and ſo total change, little reaſon can be given, beſides the *Scots* Armie coming into *England*.

But the folly of theſe men will at laſt puniſh it ſelf, and the Deſertors of Epiſcopacy will appear the greateſt Enemies to, and Betrayers of their own Intereſt: For Presbytery is never ſo conſiderable or effectuall, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Epiſcopacy. All Miniſters wil find as great a difference in point of thriving, between the favour of the people, and of Princes, as plants do between being watered by hand, or by the ſweet and liberall dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will ſoon let them ſee, what a poor carcaſſe they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whoſe Supremacy they have been ſworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great miſchiefs. I am firm to primitive Epiſcopacie, not to have it extirpated (if I can hinder it.) Diſcretion without paſſion might eaſily reform what-evet the ruſt of Times, or indulgence of Laws, or corruption of Manners have brought upon it. It being a groſſe vu'gar

vulgar errour, to impute to, or revenge upon the Function, the faults of Times or Persons; which seditious and popular principle and practice all wise men abhor.

For these secular Additaments and Ornaments of Authority, Civil Honour and Estate, which my Predecessours and Christian Princes in all Countries have annexed to Bishops and Church-men; I look upon them but as just rewards of their learning and piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Government: also enablements to works of Charitie and Hospitality, meet strengthnings of their Authoritie in point of respect and observance; which in peacefull Times is hardly paid to any Governours by the measure of their Vertues, so much, as by that of their Estates; Povertie and meanness exposing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious mindes and manners, which persecuting Times much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are most worthy of those encouragements, and best able to use them: if at any time my judgment of men failed, my good intention made my errour veniall: And some Bishops, I am sure, I had, whose learning, gravitie, and pietie, no men of any worth or forehead can deny: But, of all men, I would have Church-men, especially the Governours, to be redeemed from

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that vulgar neglect; (which beſides an innate principle of vitious oppoſition, which is in all men againſt thoſe that ſeem to reprove, or reſtrain them) will neceſſarily follow both the Presbyterian parity, which makes all Miniſters equall; and the Independent inferiority, which ſets their Paſtor below the People.

This for My judgment touching Epiſcopacy, wherein (Gods knows) I doe not gratifie any deſign or paſſion with the leaſt perverting of Truth.

And now I appeal to God above, and all the Chriſtian world, whether it be juſt for Subjects, or pious for Chriſtians, by violence, and infinite indignities, with ſervile reſtraints to ſeek to force Me their KING and Soveraign, as ſome men have endevoured to doe, againſt all theſe grounds of my Judgment, to conſent to their weak and divided novelties.

The greateſt Pretender of them deſires not more than I doe, That the Church ſhould be governed, as Chriſt hath appointed, in true Reaſon, and in Scripture; of which, I could never ſee any probable ſhew for any other waies: who either content themſelves with the examples of ſome Churches in their infancy and ſolitude; when one Presbyter might ſerve one Congregation, in a City or Countrey; or elſe they deny theſe moſt evident Truths, That the Apoſtles were Biſhops over

thoſe

Thoſe Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted; and that Government being neceſſary for the Churches wel-being when multiplied and ſociated, muſt alſo neceſſarily deſcend from the Apoſtles to others, after the example of that power and Superiority they had above others: which could not end with their Perſons, ſince the uſe and ends of ſuch Government ſtill continue.

It is moſt ſure, that the pureſt Primitive and beſt Churches flouriſhed under Epiſcopacy; and may ſo ſtill, if ignorance, ſuperſtition, avarice, revenge, and other diſorderly and diſloyal paſſions had not ſo blown up ſome mens minds againſt it, that what they want of Reaſons or primitive Patterns, they ſupply with violence and oppreſſions; wherein ſome mens zeal for Biſhops Lands, Houſes and Revenues hath ſet them on work to eat up Epiſcopacy: which (however other men eſteem) to Me is no leſſe ſin then Sacriledge, or a robbery of God (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout minds have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets; through whoſe hands he graciouſly accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himſelf.

Furthermore, as to my particular Engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to

to my judement, I am ſolemnly obliged to preſerve that Government, and the rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfullneſſe of the Function, as Antichriſtian, (which ſome men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could ſoone, with Iudgement, breake that Oath, which erroneouſly was taken by me.

But being daily by the beſt diſquiſition of truth, more confirmed in the reaſon and Religion of that, to which I am ſworn; How can any man that wiſheth not my damnation, perſwade me at once to ſo notorious and combined ſins, of Sacriledge & Perjury? beſides the many perſonall Injuſtices I muſt doe to many worthy men, who are as legally inveſted in their Eſtates, as any, who ſeeke to deprive them; and they have by no Law, been convicted of thoſe crimes, which might forfeit their Eſtates and Lively-hoods.

I have often wondred how men pretending to tenderneſſe of Conſcience and Reformation, can at once tell me, that my Coronation Oath binds me to Conſent to whatſoever they ſhall propound to Me (which they urge with ſuch violence) though contrary to all that Rationall and Religious freedom which every man ought to preſerve, & of which they ſeem ſo tender in their own Votes: yet at the ſame time theſe men will needs perſwade Me.

That

That I must, and ought to dispense with, and roundly break that part of my Oath, which binds Me (agreeable to the best light of Reason and Religion I have) to maintain the Government, and legall Rights of the Church. 'Tis strange, my lot should be valid in that part, which both my Self, and all men in their own case, esteem injurious and unreasonable, as being against the very naturall and essentiall libertie of our Souls; yet it should be invalid, and to be broken in another clause, wherein I think my Self justly obliged both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held so long, by some mens ambitious Covetousnesse, and sacrilegious Cruelty; torturing (with Me) both Church and State in Civill Dissentions, til I shall be forced to consent, and declare that I do approve, what (God knows) I utterly dislike, and in my Soul abhor, as many wayes highly against Reason, Justice, and Religion: and whereto, if I should shamefully and dishonorably give my consent; yet should I not by so doing, satisfie the divided Interests and Opinions of those Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both against Me and Episcopacy.

Nor can my late condescending to the *Scots* in point of Church-Government, be rightly objected against me, as an inducement for me, to

to consent to the like in my other Kingdoms; For it should be considered, That Episcopacie was not so rooted and setled there, as 'tis here; nor I (in that respect) so strictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom, as in this; for what I think in my judgment best, I may not think so absolutely necessary for all places, and at all times.

If any shall impute my yeelding to them as my failing and sin, I can easily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to do so again, or much worse; I being now more convinced in that point: nor indeed, hath my yeelding to them been so happy and successfull, as to encourage me to grant the like to others.

Did I see any thing more of Christ, as to Meeknesse, Justice, Order, Charity, and Loyaltie in those that pretended to other modes of Government, I might suspect my Judgment to be biassed, or fore-stalled with some prejudice and wontedness of opinion: but I have hitherto so much cause to suspect the contrary in the manners of many of those men, that I cannot from them gain the least reputation for their new ways of Government.

Nor can I find, that in any Reformed Churches (whose patterns are so cried up, and obtruded upon the Churches under my Dominion) that either Learning, or Religion, Works of Piety or Charity, have so flourished beyond

beyond what they have done in my Kingdoms (by Gods bleſſiing) which might make me believe either Presbytery or Independency have a more benigne influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, then Epiſcopacy in its right conſtitution.

The abuſes of which, deſerve to be extirpated, as much as the uſe retained; for I think it farre better to hold to primitive and uniforme Antiquity, then to comply with divided novelty.

A right Epiſcopacy would at once ſatisfie all juſt deſires and intereſts of good Biſhops, humble presbyters, and ſober People; ſo as Church affaires ſhould be managed neither with tyrannie, paritie nor popularitie; neither Biſhops ejected, nor presbyters diſpiſed, nor People oppreſſed,

And in this integrity both of my Judgement and Conſcience, I hope God will preſerve me.

For thou, O Lord, knoweſt my uprightneſſe, and tenderneſſe, as thou haſt ſet me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protectour of thy Church, ſo ſuffer me not by any violence, to be overborne againſt my Conſcience.

Ariſe O Lord, maintain thine own Cauſe, let not thy Church be deformed, as to that Government, which derived from thy Apoſtles, hath

been

been retained in pureſt and primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of ſecular envie; which ſeeks to rob it of all the incouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make me as the good Samaritan, compaſſionate and helpfull to thy afflicted Church; which ſome men have wounded and robb'd; others paſs by without regard, either to pitie or relieve.

As my power was from thee, ſo give me grace to uſe it for thee.

And though I am not ſuffered to be Maſter of my other Rights as a KING; *yet preſerve me in that libertie of Reaſon, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare which are fixed in my Conſcience as a Chriſtian.*

Preſerve from ſacrilegious Invaſions, thoſe temporall bleſſings, which thy Providence hath beſtowed on thy Church for thy glorie.

Forgive their ſins and errours, who have deſerved thy juſt permiſſion, thus to let in the wilde Boar, and ſubtil Foxes, to waſte and deform thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of heaven ſo long watered to a happy and flouriſhing eſtate.

O let me not bear the infamous brand to all Poſteritie, of being the firſt Chriſtian KING, *in this Kingdom, who ſhould conſent to the oppreſſion of thy Church, and the Fathers of it; whoſe errours I would rather, with* Conſtantine, *cover with ſilence, and reform with meekneſſe, then*

then expose their persons, and sacred Functions to vulgar contempt.

Thou, O Lord, seest how much I have suffered with, and for thy Church; make no long tarrying O my God to deliver both me and it, from unreasonable men whose counsels have brought forth, and continue such violent confusions, by a precipitant destroying the ancient boundaries of the Churches peace; thereby letting in all manner of errours, sciſmes and disorders.

O thou God of order, and of truth, in thy good time abate the malice, asswage the rage, and confound all the mischievous devises of thine, mine, and thy Churches enemies.

That I, and all that love thy Church, may sing prayses to thee, and ever magnifie thy salvation, even before the sons of men.

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18. *Upon* Uxbridge *Treaty, and other Offers made by the* King.

I Looke upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like beasts, to arguing like men; whose strength should be more in their understandings, then in their limbs.

And though I could seldom get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it; having greater confidence of my Reason, then my Sword. I was

was so wholy resolved to yeild to the first, that I thought neither my self, not others, should need to use the second, if once we rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of me, to prevent them with expresses of my desires, and even importunities to Treat: It being an office not only of humanity, rather to use Reason then Force; but also of Christianitie to *seek peace and ensue it.*

As I am very unwillingly compelled to defend my self with Armes, so I very willingly embraced any thing tending to Peace.

The events of all War by the Sword being very dubious, and of a Civill war uncomfortable; the end hardly recompencing, and late repairing the mischiefe of the means.

Nor did any successe I had ever enhaunce with me the price of Peace, as earnestly desired by me as any man; though I was like to pay dearer for it then any man: All that I sought to reserve, was, mine Honour and my Conscience; the one I could not part with as a King, the other as a Christian.

The Treaty at *Uxbridg* gave the faireſt hopes of an happy composure; had others applied themselves to it with the same moderation, as I did, I am confident the war had then ended.

I was willing to condescend, as far as Reason, Honour, and Conscience, would give me leave;

leave: nor were the remaining differences so essentiall to my peoples happinesse, or of such consequence, as in the least kind to have hindred my Subjects either security or prosperity; for they better enjoyed both many yeers, before ever those demands were made; some of which to deny, I think the greatest Justice to my Self, and favour to my Subjects.

I see Jealousies are not so easily allayed, as they are raised: Some men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, then to Engage: what is wanting in Equity, must be made up in Pertinacie. Such as had little to enjoy in Peace, or to lose in War, studied to render the very name of *Peace* odious and suspected.

In Church-affairs, where I had least liberty of prudence, having so many strict ties of Conscience upon me, yet I was willing to condescend so farr to the setling of them, as might have given fair satisfaction to all men, whom Faction, Covetousnes, or Superstition had not engaged, more then any true zeal, charity, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yeeld to all that might seem to advance true piety; I onely sought to continue what was necessary in point of Order, Maintenance, and Authority to the Churches Government; and what I am perswaded (as I have else-where set down my thoughts more fully

fully) is most agreeable to the true principles of all Government, raised to its full stature and perfection, as also to the primitive Apostolicall patterne, and the practice of the Universall Church conform therunto.

From which wholly to recede, without any probable reason urged or answered, only to satisfie some mens wills and fantasies (which yet agree not among themselves in any point, but that of extirpating Episcopacy, and fighting against Me) must needs argue such a softnesse, and infirmity of mind in Me, as will rather part with Gods Truth, then mans Peace, and rather lose the Churches honour, then crosse some mens factious humours.

God knows, and time will discover, who were most to blame for the un-successfulnesse of that Treaty, and who must bear the guilt of after-calamities. I beleeve, I am very excusable both before God, and all unpassionate men, who have seriously weighed those transactions, wherein I endeavoured no lesse the restauration of peace to my people, then the preservation of my own Crowns to my posterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all faire condescendings as arguments of feebleneſse, and glory most in an unflexible stifneſse, when they see others most supple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them was alwayes

to ask something, which in Reason and Honour must be denied, that they might have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted; setting Peace at as high a rate, as the worst effects of Warr; endevouring first to make Me destroy My self by dishonourable Concessions, that so they might have the less to do.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the world see how little I would deny, or they grant, in order to the publick Peace.

That it gave occasion to some mens further restiveness, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to any Concessions or negations of Mine: I have alwayes the content of what I offered, and they the regret and blame, for what they refused.

The highest tide of success set me not above a Treaty, nor the lowest ebbe below a Fight; Though I never thought it any sign of true valour, to be prodigal of mens lives, rather then be drawne to produce our own Reasons, or subscribe to other mens.

That which made me for the most part presage the unsuccessfulnesse of any Treaty, was, some mens unwillingnesse to Treat: which implied some things were to be gained by the Sword, whose unseasonableness they were loth to have fairly scanned, being more proper

per to be acted by Souldiers, then by Counsellours.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking: and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword a better opportunity to use such moderation as was then wanting; that so though Peace were for our sins justly deferred, yet at last it might be happily obtained; what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gaine by our prayers.

O thou, that art the God of Reason, and of Peace, who disdaineſt not to treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of attonement, and beseeching them to be reconciled with thy selfe: who wanteſt not Power, or Iuſtice, to deſtroy them; yet aboundeſt in mercy to ſave: ſoften our hearts by the bloud of our Redeemer, and perſwade us to accept of Peace with thy ſelf, and both to procure and preſerve Peace among our ſelves, as Men and Chriſtians. How oft have I entreated for Peace? but when I ſpeak thereof, they make them ready to War.

Condemn us not to our paſſions, which are deſtructive both of our ſelves, and of others.

Cleer up our underſtandings to ſee thy Truth, both in reaſon, as Men; and in Religion, as Chriſtians: and incline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts against thee: and give us that charity which should be among our selves.

Remove the evils of war we have deserved, & bestow upon us that peace which only Christ our great Peace-maker can merit.

19. *Upon the various events of the warre, victories, and defeats.*

THe various successes of this unhappy war, have at least, afforded me variety of good meditations: sometimes God was pleased to try me with victory, by worsting my enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own, and use his power, who is the onely true Lord of Hosts, able when he pleases to represse the confidence of those who fought against mee with so great advantage for power and number.

From small beginnings on my part, hee let me see, that I was not wholly forsaken by my peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleased to exercise my patience, and teach me not to trust in the arm of Flesh, bnt in the living God.

My sins sometimes prevailed against the justice of my cause, and those that were with me wanted

wanted not matter and occasion for his just chastisement both of them and Mee: Nor were My Enemies lesse punished by that prosperity which hardened them to continue that injastice by open hostilitie, which was begun by most riotous and un-Parliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt but personall and private sins may oft-times over-balance the Justice of publick Engagements; nor doth God account every gallant man (in the worlds esteem) a fit instrument to assert in the way of War a righteous Cause: The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valour, and strength, the lesse doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am sure the event or successe can never state the Justice of any Cause, nor the peace of mens Consciences, nor the eternall fate of their Souls.

Those with Me had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their justification, the Word of God, and the Lawes of the Land, together with their own Oathes; all requiring obedience to my just Commands; but to none other under Heaven without me, or against me in the point of raising Arms.

Those on the other side are forced to flie to the shifts of some pretended Fears, and wilde Fundamentals of State (as they call them)

which actually overthrow the present fabrick both of Church and State; being such imaginary Reasons for self-defence as are most impertinent for those men to alledge, who being my Subjects, were manifestly the first assaulters of Me and the Laws: first, by unsuppressing the Tumults, after by listed Forces: The same Allegations they use, will fit any Faction that hath but power and confidence enough to second with the Sword all their Demands against the present Laws and Governours; which can never be such as some side or other will not find fault with, so as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion against them: some parasitick Preachers have dared to call those Martyrs, who died fighting against Me, the Laws, their Oaths, and the Religion established.

But sober Christians know, That glorious Title can with truth be applied onely to those, who sincerely preferred Gods Truth and their duty in all these particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to them in this world; who having no advantageous Designes by any Innovation, were Religiously sensible of those ties to God, the Church, and my Self, which lay upon their souls, both for obedience, and just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but hee did through his mercy, crown many of them with eternall

eternall life, whose lives were lost in so just a Cause; the destruction of their bodies being sanctified as a means to save their souls.

Their Wounds and temporal Ruine serving as a gracious opportunity for their eternall Health and Happinesse; while the evident approach of death, through Gods grace, effectually dispose their hearts to such Humilitie, Faith, and Repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their present Engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that which their enemies brutish and disloyall fierceneſſe could deprive them of; or without repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often, indeed, had the better against my side in the Field, but never, I believe at the Bar of Gods Tribunal, or their own Consciences; where they are more afraid to encounter those many pregnant Reasons, both for Law, Allegiance, and all true Christian grounds, which conflicts *with*, and accuse them *in* their own thoughts, then they oft were in a desperate bravery to fight against those Forces which sometimes God gave me.

Whose condition conquered, and dying, I make no question, but is infinitely more to be chosen by a sober man (that duly values his duty, his soul and eternity, beyond the enjoyment of this present life) then the most

triumphant glory, wherein their and mine Enemies supervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith their suspicious, or now convicted Consciences do pursue them, especially since they and all the world have seen, how false and unintended those pretensions were, which they first set forth, as the onely plausible (though not justifiable) grounds of raising a War, and continuing it thus long against Me, and the Laws established; in whose safety and preservation all honest men think the welfare of their Country doth consist.

For, and with all which, it is far more honourable and comfortable to suffer, then to prosper in their ruine and subversion.

I have often prayed, that all on my side might join true pietie with the sense of their Loyalty; and be as faithfull to God and their own souls, as they were to Me; That the defects of the one might not blast the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that any shews of truth of piety on the other side were sufficient to dispence with, or expiate the defects of their dutie and Loyaltie to Me, which have so pregnant convictions on mens consciences, that even profaner men are moved by the sense of them to venture their lives for Me.

I never had any Victory which was without my

My ſorrow, becauſe it was on Mine own Subjects, who, like *Abſolom*, died many of them in their ſin: And yet I never ſuffered any Defeat which made Me deſpair of Gods mercy and defence.

I never deſired ſuch victories, as might ſerve to conquer, but only reſtore the Laws and Liberties of My people; which I ſaw were extremly oppreſſed, together with my rights, by thoſe men, who were impatient of any juſt reſtraint.

When Providence gave Me, or denied Me Victory, my deſire was never to boaſt of my power nor to charge God fooliſhly; who I believed at laſt would make all things to work together for my good.

I wiſhed no greater advantages by the War, then to bring my Enemies to moderation, and my Friends to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an abſolute conqueſt, and never prayed more for Victory over others, then over my ſelf. When the firſt was denied, the ſecond was granted me, which God ſaw beſt for me.

The different events were but the methods of divine juſtice, by contrary winds to winow us: That, by puniſhing our ſins, he might purge them from us; and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to uſe ſo great a bleſſing.

My often Meſſages for Peace ſhewed, tha I delighted not in Warre; as my former Conceſſions ſufficiently teſtified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and My totall unpreparedneſs for it, how little *I* intended it.

The Conſcience of my Innocence forbad Me to fear a Warr; but the love of my Kingdoms commanded me (if poſſible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this War of nothing but this, That I gave ſuch advantages to ſome men, by confirming their power, which they knew not to uſe with that modeſty and gratitude, which became their loyalty and My confidence.

Had I yeelded leſſe, I had been oppoſed leſſe; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occaſions of the War; I wiſh only a happy concluſion of ſo unhappy beginnings: The inevitable fate of our ſins was (no doubt) ſuch, as would no longer ſuffer the divine Juſtice to be quiet: we having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutuall conquerings, to deſtroy one another: for, the moſt proſperous ſucceſſes on either ſide, impair the welfare of the whole.

Thoſe Victories are ſtill miſerable, that leave

leave our ſins unſubdued; flushing our pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace is not it ſelf deſirable, till repentance hath prepared us for it.

When we fight more againſt our ſelves, and leſſe againſt God, we ſhall ceaſe fighting againſt one another; I pray God theſe may all meet in our hearts, and ſo diſpoſe us to an happy concluſion of theſe Civil-Wars; that I may know better to obey God, and govern my people, and they may learn better to obey both God and me.

Nor do *I* deſire any man ſhould be further ſubject to me, then all of us may be ſubject to God.

O my God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it ſo.

Teach me the nobleſt victory over my ſelf and my enemies by patience; which was Chriſts conqueſt, and may well become a Chriſtian King.

Between both thy hands, the right ſometimes ſupporting, and the left afflicting, faſhion us to that frame of Piety thou likeſt beſt.

Forgive the pride that attends our proſperous, and the repinings which follow our diſaſtrous events; when going forth in our own ſtrength thou withdraweſt thine, and goeſt not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all, when we are ſomething, and when

we

We are nothing; that thou mayest have the glory, when we are in a Victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou O Lord knowest, how hard it is for me to suffer so much evill from my Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but suffer in those evils which they compel me to inflict upon them; punishing my self in their punishmenes.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am still a Sufferer: I beseech thee to give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that measure of grace, which only can be sufficient for me.

As I am most afflicted, so make me most reformed: that I may not be only happy to see an end of those civill distractions, but a chief Instrument to restore and establish a firm, and blessed Peace to my Kingdoms.

Scirre up all Parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with reason, moderation, and such self-deniall, as becomes those, who consider that our mutuall divisions are our common distractions, and the Union of all is every good mans chiefest interest.

If O Lord, as for the sins of our peace, thou hast brought upon us the miseries of War: so for the sins of War thou shouldst see fit still to deny us the blessing of peace, and so to keep us in a circulation of miseries: yet give me thy Servant,

vant, and all Loyall, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy that peace which the World can nether give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to me the blood of my Subjects, which with infinite unwillingneſs and griefe, hath been ſhed by me, in my juſt & neceſſary defence: but waſh me with that precious blood, which hath been ſhed for me, by my great Peace-maker, Jeſus Chriſt; Who will, I truſt, redeem me ſhortly out of all my troubles: for, I know the triumphing of the Wicked is but ſhort. and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

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20. *Upon the Reformation of the Times.*

NO Glory is more to be envied then that of due reforming either Church or State, when deformities are ſuch, that the perturbation and noveltie are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God ſhould not honour me ſo far, as to make me an Inſtrument of ſo good a work, yet *I* ſhould be glad to ſee it done.

As I was well pleaſed with this Parliaments firſt intentions to reform what the indulgence of Times, and corrruption of manners might have depraved; ſo I am ſorry to ſee after the

freedom of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppreſſed, how little regard was had to the good Laws eſtabliſhed, and the Religion ſetled; which ought to be the firſt rule and ſtandard of Reforming: with how much partiality and popular compliance the paſſions and opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the Publick, and the infinite ſcandall of the reformed Religion?

What diſſolutions of all Order and Government in the Church? what novelties of Schiſm, and corrupt opinions? what undecencies and confuſions in ſacred Adminiſtrations? what ſacrilegious Invaſions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church? what contempt and oppreſſions of the Clergie? what injurious diminutions and perſecutings of Me have followed (as ſhowers do warm gleams) the talk of Reformation, all ſober men are Witneſſes, and with my ſelf, ſad Spectators hitherto.

The great miſcarriage (I think) is, that popular clamours and fury have been allowed the reputation of zeal, and the Publick ſenſe; ſo that the ſtudies to pleaſe ſome Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedom, Moderation and Impartiality are ſure the beſt tempers of reforming Counſels and endeavours: what is acted by Factions, cannot but offend more then it pleaſeth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church affairs and Religion to the free consultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly choſen; the reſults of whoſe Councels, as they would have included the Votes of all, ſo its like they would have given moſt ſatisfaction to all.

The Aſſembly of Divines, whom the two Houſes have applied (in an unwonted way) to adviſe of Church affairs, I diſlike not farther, then that they are not legally convened and choſen; nor act in the name of all the Clergy of *England*; nor with freedom and impartiality can do any thing, being limited and confined, if not overawed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think ſo many men cried up for learning and piety, who formerly allowed the Liturgy and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the main, would have ſo ſuddenly agreed quite to aboliſh both of them, (the laſt of which, they know to be of Apoſtolicall inſtitution, at leaſt; as of Primitive and Univerſall practice) if they had been left to the liberty of their own ſuffrages, and if the influence of contrary factions had not by ſecret encroachments of hopes and fears, prevailed upon them, to comply with ſo great and dangerous Innovations in the Church; without any regard to their own former judgment

ment and practice, or to the common intereſt and honour of all the Clergy, and in them of Order, learning, and Religion againſt examples of all Ancient Churches; the Lawes in force and my conſent; which is never to be gained, againſt ſo pregnant light, as in that point ſhines on my underſtanding.

For I conceive, that where the Scripture is not ſo clear and punctuall in precepts, there the conſtant and Univerſall practice of the Church, in things not contrary to Reaſon, Faith, good Manners, or any poſitive Command, is the beſt rule that Chriſtians can follow.

I was willing to grant, or reſtore to Presbytery, what with Reaſon or Diſcretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Epiſcopacy; but for that wholy to invade the Power, and by the *S*word to arrogate, and quite abrogae the Authority of that Ancient Order, I thinke neither juſt, as to epiſcopacy, nor ſafe for Presbytery; nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due reformation had eaſily followed moderate Counſels: and ſuch (I beleeve) as would have given more content, even to the moſt of thoſe Divines, who have been led on with much Gravity and formality, to carry on other mens deſignes which no doubt many of them by this time diſcover, though they dare not

not but ſmother their fruſtrations and diſcontents.

The ſpecious and popular Titles of Chriſts Government, Throne, Scepter, and Kingdom, (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their parties now have at leaſt) alſo the noiſe of a thorow-Reformation, theſe may as eaſily be fined on new models, as fair colours may be put to ill-favoured Figures.

The breaking of Church-windows, which time had ſufficiently defaced; pulling down of Croſſes, which were but Civill, not Religious marks; defacing of Monuments, and Inſcriptions of the dead, which ſerved but to put Poſterity in minde, to thank God for that clearer light wherein they live: The leaving of Miniſters to their liberties, and private abilities in the publick ſervice of God, where no Chriſtian can tell to what hee may ſay *Amen*; nor what adventure he may make of ſeeming, at leaſt, to conſent to the Errours, Blaſphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies which bold and ignorant men liſt to vent in their Prayers, Preaching, and other Offices; Their ſetting forth alſo of old Catechiſms, and Confeſſions of Faith new dreſt, importing as much, as if there had been no ſound or cleer Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before ſome four or five yeers conſultation had matured

their

their thoughts touching their first principles of Religion.

All these and the like are the effects of popular, specious, and deceitfull Reformations, (that they might not seem to have nothing to do) and may give some short flashes of content to the Vulgar, (who are taken with novelties, as children with babies, very much, but not very long) but all this amounts not to, nor can in justice merit the glory of the Churches thorow-Reformation; since they leave all things more deformed, disorderly, and discontented then when they began, in point of Piety, Morality, Charity, and good Order.

Nor can they easily recompence or remedie the inconveniences and mischiefs which they have purchased so dearly, and which have, and will ever necessarily ensue, till due remedies be applied.

I wish they would at last make it their unanimous work to do Gods work, and not their own: Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But some men thought, that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by so many Lawes, and long Customes, would not run into their new moudls, till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civil Warr; by the advantages

vantages of which they resolved, if they prevailed, to make my Self and all my Subjects fall down and worship the Images they should form and set up. If there had been as much of Christs Spirit, for meekness, wisdom and charitie in mens hearts, as there was of his name used in the pretensions to reform all to Christs Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of Gods blessing, and produced more of Christs Glory, the Churches good, the honour of Religion, and the unity of Christians.

Publick Reformers had need first act in private, and practice that on their own hearts, which they purpose to try on others; for Deformities within will soon betray the pretenders of publick Reformations to such private designs, as must needs hinder the publick good.

I am sure, the right Methods of Reforming the Church, cannot subsist with that of perturbing the Civil State; nor can Religion be justly advanced by depressing Loyaltie, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients, and Ornaments of true Religion: for next to *Fear God*, is, *Honour the King*.

I doubt not but Christs Kingdom may be set up without pulling down mine; nor will any men in impartiall times appear good Christians, that approve not themselves good Subjects.

Christs

Christs Government will confirm Mine, not overthrow it, since as I own Mine from Him, so I desire to rule for his Glory, and his Churches good.

Had some men truly intended Christs Government, or knew what it meant in their hearts, they could never have been so ill governed in their words and actions, both against Me, and one another.

As good ends cannot justifie evill means; so nor will evill beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions: unlesse God by a miracle of Mercie create Light out of Darknesse, Order out of our Confusions, and peace out of our passions.

Thou, O Lord, who onely canst give us beauty for ashes, and Truth for Hypocrisie; suffer us not to be miserably deluded with Pharisaicall Washings, in stead of Christian reformings.

Our greatest diformities are within; make us the severest Censurers, and first Reformers of our own souls.

That we may in clearnesse of judgment, and uprightnesse of heart be means to reform what is indeed amisse in Church and State.

Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew right spirits within us; that we may do all by thy directions, to thy glory, and with thy blessing.

Pitie

Pity the deformities, which some rash & cruel Reformers have brought upon this Church and State: Quench the fires which factions have kindled, under the pretence of Reforming.

As thou hast shewed the world by their divisions, and confusions, what is the pravity of some mens intentions, and weakness of their judgements; so bring us at last more refined out of these fires, by the methods of Christian and charitable reformations; wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, coveteousnes, or sacriledge, may have any influence upon their counsels, whom thy providence injust and lawfull wayes shall entrust with so great, good, and now most necessarya work: That I and my people may be so blest with inward piety, as may best teach us how to use the blessings of outward peace.

21. *Upon his Majesties Letters taken and divulged.*

THE taking of My Letters was an opportunity, which, as the malice of Mine ENEMIES could hardly have expected; so they know not how with honour and civility to use it: Nor do I thinke with sober and worthy minds any thing in them, could tend so much to my reproach, as the odious

odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers: The greateſt experiments of Vertue and Nobleneſſe being diſcovered in the greateſt advantages againſt an enemy, and the greateſt obligations being thoſe, which are put upon us by them, from whom we could leaſt have expected them.

And ſuch I ſhould have eſteemed the concealing of my Papers; the freedom and ſecreſie of which, commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane then to expoſe them to publick view.

Yet ſince Providence will have it ſo, I am content ſo much of My heart (which I ſtudy to approve to Gods omniſcience) ſhould be diſcovered to the world without any of thoſe dreſſes or popular captations which ſome men uſe in their Speeches and Expreſſes; I wiſh My Subjects had a cleerer ſight into My moſt retired Thoughts.

Where they might diſcover, how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preſerve my own Rights, then to procure their Peace and Happineſſe, and that extreme grief to ſee them both deceiv'd and deſtroyed.

Nor can any mens malice be gratified further by My Letters, than to ſee my conſtancy to my Wife, the Laws, and Religion.

Bees

Bees will gather honey where the Spider ſucks Poyſon.

That I endeavour to avoid the preſſures of my Enemies, by all fair and juſt correſpondences; no man can blame, who loves Me, or the Common-wealth, ſince my Subjects can hardly be happy if I be miſerable, or enjoy their Peace and Liberties while I am oppreſſed.

The world may ſee how ſoon mens deſigne, like *Abſoloms*, is by enormous actions to widen differences, and exaſperate all ſides to ſuch diſtances, as may make all Reconciliation deſperate.

Yet I thank God, I can not only with patience bear this, as other indignities, but with charity forgive them.

The integrity of my intentions is not jealous of any injury my expreſſions can do them, for although the confidence of privacy may admit of greater freedome in writing ſuch letters, which may be liable to envious exceptions; yet the innocency of my chief purpoſes cannot be ſo obtained, or miſ-interpreted by them, as not to let all men ſee, that I wiſh nothing more then a happy compoſure of differences with Juſtice & Honor, nor more to My own, then My peoples content, who have any ſparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who, by thoſe my Letters may be convinced

that

that I can both mind and act My own, and My Kingdomes Affaires, ſo as becomes a Prince; which Mine Enemies have alwayes been very loth ſhould be beleeved of me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others; whom they pleaſe to brand with the names of Evil Counſellours.

Its probable ſome men will now look upon me as my own Counſellour, and having none elſe to quarrell with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to my ſelf: Although I know they are very unwilling I ſhould enjoy the liberty of my own thoughts, or follow the light of my own Conſcience, which they labour to bring into an abſolute captivitie to themſelves; not allowing me to think their Counſels to be other then good for me, which have ſo long maintained a War againſt Me.

The Victory they obtained that day, when my Letters became their prize, had been enough to have ſatiated the moſt ambitious thriſt of popular glory among the Vulgar; with whom proſperity gaines the greateſt eſteem and applauſe; as adverſity expoſeth to their greateſt ſleighting and diſ-reſpect: As if good fortune were alwayes the ſhadow of Vertue and Juſtice, and did not oftner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But

But I see no secular advantages seem sufficient to that cause, which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the vulgar.

They think no Victories so effectual to their designs, as those that most rout and waste My Credit with My People; in whose hearts they seek by all means to smother and extinguish all sparks of Love, Respect and Loyaltie to Me, that they may never kindle again, so as to recover Mine, the Laws & the Kingdoms Liberties, which some men seek to overthrow: The taking away of my Credit, is but a necessary preparation to the taking away of my Life and my Kingdoms; first I must seem neither fit to Live, nor worthy to Reign: By exquisite methods of cunning & cruelty, I must be compelled, first to follow the Funerals of my Honor, and then be destroyed: But I know Gods un-erring and impartial justice can & will over-rule the most perverse wils and designs of men; he is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worst of mine Enemies thoughts and actions to my good.

Nor do I think, that by the surprize of my Letters, I have lost any more then so many papers: how much they have lost of that reputation, for Civility and Humanity (which ought to be paid to all men, and most becomes such as pretend to Religion) besides that of Respect and Honor, which they owe to their KING, pre-

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sent, and after-times will judge. And I cannot think that their own consciences are so stupid, as not to inflict upon them some secret impressions of that shame & dishonor which attends all unworthy actions, have they never so much of publick flattery and popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the divine approbation of such indecent actions, if they do but remember how God blest the modest respect & filial tenderness which *Noah's* Sons bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmity justifie *Cham's* impudency, or exempt him from that curse of being *Servant of Servants*; which curse must needs be on them who seek by dishonorable actions to please the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts, their dependance upon the People.

Nor can their malitious intentions be ever either excusable or prosperous, who thought to expose me to the highest reproach & contempt of my People, forgetting that duty of modest concealment which they owed to the Father of their Country, in case they had discovered any real uncomliness, which, I thank God they did not; who can, and I believe hath made Me more respected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*) to whom they thought, by publishing my private Letters, to have rendred me as a vile Person, not fit to be trusted or considered, under any Notion of Majesty.

But

But thou, O Lord, whose wise and all disposing Providence ordereth the greatest contingences of humane affairs, make me to see the constancie of thy mercies to me, in the greatest advantages thou seemest to give the malice of my Enemies against me.

As thou didst blast the councell of Achitophel *turning it to* Davids *good, and his own ruine: so canst thou defeat their Designe, who intended by publishing my private Letters, nothing else but to render me more odious and contemptible to my People.*

I must first appeal to thy Omniscience, Who canst witnesse my integritie, how unjust and false those scandalous misconstructions are, which my Enemies endeavour by those papers of mine to represent unto the world.

Make the evil they imagined, and displeasure they intended thereby against me, so to return on their own heads, that they may be ashamed, and covered with their own confusion as with a cloak.

Thou seest how mine Enemies use all means to cloud mine Honour, to pervert my purposes, and to slander the footsteps of thine Anointed.

But give me an heart content to be dishonoured for thy sake, and thy Churches good.

Fix in me a purpose to honour thee, and then I know thou wilt honour me, either by restoring to me the enjoyment of that Power and Majesty, which thou hast suffered some men to seek to deprive me of; or by bestowing on me that Crown of Christian patience, which knows how to serve thee in honour or dishonour, in good report or evil.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodness and honour; thou art cloathed with excellent Majesty; make me to partake of thy excellency for Wisdom, justice and mercy, and I shall not want that degree of Honour and Majestie which becomes the Place in which thou hast set me; who art the lifter up of my head, and my salvation.

Lord, by thy Grace, lead me to thy Glory, which is both true and eternall.

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22. *Upon*

22. *Upon His Majeſties leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots.

ALthough God hath given me three Kingdoms, yet in theſe He hath not now left me any place where I may with ſafety & Honor reſt my head: ſhewing me that himſelf is the ſafeſt Refuge, and the ſtrongeſt Tower of defence, in which I may put my truſt.

In theſe extremities, I look not to man ſo much as to God: He will have it thus, that I may caſt my ſelf, and my now diſtreſſed Affairs upon his mercy, who hath both hearts and hands of all men in his diſpoſe.

What Providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Neceſſity is now my Counſellor, and commands Me to ſtudy My ſafety by a diſguiſed withdrawing from my chiefeſt ſtrength, and adventuring upon their Loyalty, who firſt began my troubles. Happily, God may make them a means honorable to compoſe them.

This my confidence of them, may diſ-arm & overcom them; my rendring my perſon to them, may engage their affection to me, who have oft profeſſed, *They fought not againſt me, but for me.*

I muſt now reſolve the riddle of their Loyalty: and give them opportunity to let the world

see, they mean not what they do, but what they say.

Yet must God be my chiefest Guard; and my Conscience both my Counsellor and my Comforter: Though I put my body into their hands, yet I shall reserve my soul to God and my self; nor shall any necessities compell me, to desert mine honour, or swerve from my Judgement.

What they sought to take by force, shall now be given them in such a way of unusuall confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to be really such as they ought, and professed to be.

God sees it not enough to desert me of all Military power to defend my Self, but to put me upon using their power, who seem to fight against me, yet ought in duty to defend me.

So various are all humane affairs, & so necessitous may the state of Princes be, that their greatest danger may be in their supposed safety, and their safety in their supposed danger.

I must now leave those that have Adhered to me, and apply to those that have Opposed me; this method of Peace may be more prosperous then that of War, both to stop the effusion of bloud, & to close those wounds already made: and in it I am no less solicitous for my Friends safety, then mine own; chusing to venture my Self upon further hazards, rather then expose their resolute Loyaltie to all extremities.

It

It is some skil in play to know when a game is lost; better fairly to give over, then to contest in vain.

I must now study to re-inforce my Judgment, and fortifie my mind with Reason and Religion, that I may not seem to offer up my Souls libertie, or make my Conscience their Captive; who ought at first to have used Arguments, not Arms, to have perswaded my consent to their demands.

I thank God, no success darkens or disguises Truth to me; and I shall no less conform my words to my inward dictates now, then if they had been, as the words of a KING ought to be among loyal Subjects, *full of power.*

Reason is the divinest power. I shall never think my Self weakned, while I may make full and free use of that. No ecclipse of outward Fortune shall rob me of that light: what God hath denied of outward strength, his grace, I hope, will supply with inward resolutions; not morositie to deny, what is fit to be granted; but not to grant any thing which Reason and Religion bids me denie.

I shall never think my Self less then my Self, while I am able thus to preserve the integrity of my Conscience, the only Jewel now left me, which is worth keeping.

O thou Soveraign of our Souls, the onely

Commander of our Conſciences; though I know not what to do, yet mine eyes are toward thee: To the protection of thy mercy I ſtill commend my ſelf.

As thou haſt preſerved me in the day of Battell, ſo thou canſt ſtill ſhew me thy ſtrength in my weakneſſe.

Be thou unto me in my darkeſt night a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me; in the day of my hotteſt affliction, be alſo a pillar of cloud to overſhadow and protect me; be to me both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knoweſt, that it is not any perverſeneſs of Will, but juſt perſwaſions of Honour, Reaſon, and Religion, which have made me thus far to hazard my Perſon, Peace, and Safetie, againſt thoſe that by force have ſought to wreſt them from me.

Suffer not my juſt reſolutions to abate with my outward Forces; let a good Conſcience alwaies accompany me in my ſolitude and deſertions.

Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reaſon, and that fortreſſe of my Soul which I am entruſted to keep for thee.

Lead me in the paths of thy righteouſneſſe, and ſhew me thy ſalvation.

Make my Waies to pleaſe thee, and then thou wilt make mine enemies to be at peace with me.

23. *Upon*

23. *Upon the* Scots *delivering the* KING *to the* English, *and His Captivity at* Holmeby.

YEt may I justifie those *Scots* to all the world in this. That they have not deceived me; for I never trusted to them further then to men: if I am sold by them, I am only sorry they should do it: and that My price should be so much above My Saviors.

These are but further Essays which God will have Me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix Me on himself, who never faileth them that trust in him; though the Reeds of *Ægypt* break under the hand of him that leans on them, yet the Rock of *Israel* will be an everlasting stay and defence.

Gods Providence commands Me to retire from all to himself, that in him I may enjoy My Self, which I lose, while I let out My hopes to others.

The solitude & captivity to which I am now reduced, gives Me leisure enough to study the wordls vanity and inconstancie.

God sees 'tis fit to deprive Me of Wife, Children, Armie, Friends, and Freedom, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the

Unfortunate, if I be not in the black List of irreligious and sacrilegious Princes.

No Restraint shall ensnare my Soul in sin; nor gain that of me which may make my Enemies more insolent, my Friends ashamed, or my Name accursed.

They have no great cause to triumph, that they have got my Person into their power; since my Soul is still my own: nor shall they ever gain my Consent against my Conscience.

What they call obstinacie, I know God accounts honest constancie, from which Reason and Religion, as well as Honor, forbid Me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil Counsellors with Me, but a good Conscience in Me, which hath been fought against; nor did they ever intend to bring Me to my Parliament, till they had brought My mind to their obedience.

Should I grant what some men desire, I should be such as they wish Me, not more a King, and far less both Man and Christian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither shall Restraint; which though it have as little of safety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The fear of men shall never be my snare; nor shall the love of any liberty entangle my soul: Better others betray me, then my self: and that the price of my liberty should be my conscience;

the

the greatest injuries my Enemies seek to inflict upon me, cannot be without my own consent.

While I can deny with Reason, I shall defeat the greatest impressions of their malice, who neither know how to use worthily what I have already granted; nor what to require more of me but this, That I would seem willing to help them to destroy my self and mine.

Although they should destroy me, yet they shall have no cause to despise me.

Neither liberty nor life are so dear to me, as the peace of my Conscience, the Honor of my Crowns, and the welfare of my People; which my word may injure more then any War can do; while I gratifie a few to oppresse all.

The Laws will by Gods blessing, revive, with the love and Loyaltie of my Subjects; if I bury them not by my Consent, and cover them in that grave of dishonor and injustice, which some mens violence hath digged for them.

If my Captivity or Death must be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miserable, which carries not with it, his Souls, his Peoples, and Posterities thraldom.

After-times may see, what the blindnesse of this Age will not; and God may at length shew my Subjects, that I chuse rather to suffer for them, then with them; happily I might redeem my self to some shew of liberty, if I would

consent

consent to enslave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, then to confirm many Tyrants over them, from whom I pray God deliver them, what ever becomes of me, whose solitude hath not left me alone.

For thou, O God, infinitely Good, and Great, art with me, whose presence is better then life, and whose service is perfect freedom.

Own me for thy Servant, and I shall never have cause to complain for want of that liberty which becomes a Man, a Christian, and a King.

Blesse me still with Reason, as a Man; with Religion, as a Christian; and with constancie in Justice, as a King.

Though thou sufferest me to be strict of all outward ornaments, yet preserve me ever in those enjoyments wherein I may enjoy thy self; and which cannot be taken from me against my will.

Let no fire of affliction boile over my passion to any impatience or sordid fears.

There be many that say of me, There is no help for me: do thou lift up the light of thy Countenance upon me, and I shall want neither Safetie, Libertie, nor Majestie.

Give me that measure of patience and constancie which my condition now requires.

My strength is scattered, my expectation from Men defeated, my Person restrained: O be not thou far from me, lest my enemies prevail too much against me.

I

I am become a wonder, and a scorn to many: O be thou my helper and defender.

Shew some token upon me for good, that they that hate me may be ashamed, because thou Lord, hast holpen and comforted me; estabish me with thy free Spirit, that I may do and suffer thy will, as thou wouldst have me.

Be mercifull to me, O Lord, for my soul trusteth in thee: yea, and in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge, untill these calamities be over-past.

Arise to deliver me, make no long tarrying, O my God. Though thou killest me, yet will I trust in thy mercy, and my Saviours merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth; though thou leadest me through the vail and shadow of death, yet shall I fear none ill.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

24. Vpon

24. *Upon their denying His Majestie the Attendance of His Chaplains.*

WHen providence was pleased to deprive Me of all other civil comforts and secular attendants, I thought the absence of them all might best be supplied by the attendance of some of my Chaplains; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelitie I have cause to love. By their Learning, Pietie, and Praiers, I hoped to be either better enabled to sustain the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and use of them in Gods good time: so reaping by their pious help a spiritual harvest of grace amidst the thorns, and after the plowings of temporal crosses.

The truth is, I never needed or desired more the service and assistance of men judiciously pious, and soberly devout.

The solitude they have confined me unto, adds the wilderness to my temptations: For the company they obtrude upon me, is more sad then any solitude can be.

If I had asked my Revenues, my power of the *Militia*, or any one of my Kingdoms, it had bin no

no wonder to have been denied in those things, where the evil policy of men forbids all just restitution, lest they should confess an injurious usurpation: But to deny me the ghostly comfort of my Chaplains seems a greater rigor & barbarity, then is ever used by christiãs to the meanest prisoners, & greatest malefactors, whom though the justice of the law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercy of religion allows them the benefit of their Clergy, as not aiming at once to destroy their Bodies, and to damn their Souls.

But my agony must not be relieved with the presence of any one good Angel; for such I account a learned, godly, and discreet Divine: and such I would have all mine to be.

They that envie my being a King, are loth I should be a Christian: while they seek to deprive me of all things else, they are afraid I should save my Soul.

Other sense, Charity it self can hardly pick out of those many harsh repulses I received, as to that request so often made for the attendance of some of my Chaplains.

I have sometime thought the Unchristiannes of those denials might arise from a displeasure some men had to see me prefer my own Divines before their Ministers: whom, though I respect for that worth and piety wch may be in them, yet I cannot think them so proper for

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any present comforters or Physitians, Who have (some of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon Me.

Nor are the sobereſt of them so apt for that devotional compliance, and juncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those holy Offices to be performed with me, and for me; since their judgments standing at a distance from me, or in jealousie of me, or in opposition against me, their Spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with mine, or mine with theirs, either in Prayer or other holy duties, as is meet, and most comfortable; whose golden rule, and bond of Perfection consists in that of mutual Love and Charitie.

Some remedies are worse then the disease, and some comforters more miserable then misery it self; when like *Job's* friends, they seek not to fortifie ones minde with patience; but perswade a man by betraying his own Innocency, to despair of Gods mercy; and by justifying their injuries, to streng hen the hands, and harden the heart of insolent Enemies.

I am so much a friend to all Church-men, that have any thing in them beseeming that sacred Function, that I have hazarded my own interests, chiefly upon Conscience and Constancie, to maintain their Rights; whom the

the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the sacrilegious eyes of many cruell and rapacious Reformers; so I thought it my dutie the more to appear as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am very unhandsomly requited by some of them; who may live to repent no lesse for My sufferings, then their own ungrateful errours, and that injurious contempt and meanness, which they have brought upon their Calling and Persons.

I pity al of them, I despise none: only I thought I might have leave to make choice of some for My special Attendance, who were best approved in My Judgment, & most sutable to My affection: For, I held it better to seem undevout, and to hear no mans Praiers, then to be forced, or seem to comply with those Petitions to which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue say *Amen*, without contradicting a mans own understanding, or belying his own Soul.

In Devotions, I love neither profane boldnesse, nor pious non-sence; but such an humble and judicious gravitie as shews the Speaker to be at once considerate both of Gods Majestie, the Churches Honour, and his own vilenesse; both knowing what things God allows him to ask, and in what manner it becomes a Sinner to supplicate the divine mercie for himself, and others.

I am equally scandalized with all Praiers, that sound either imperiously, or rudely, and passionately; as either wanting humilitie to God, or charitie to men, or respect to the dutie.

I confess I am better pleased as with studied and premeditated Sermons, so with such publick Forms of Praier, as are fitted to the Churches and every Christians daily and common neceffities; because I am by them better assured, what I may join my heart unto, then I can be of any mans extemporary sufficiencie: which as I do not wholly exclude from publick occasions; so I allow its just libertie and use in private and devout retirements; where neither the solemnitie of the dutie, nor the modest regard to others, do require so great exactness as to the outward manner of performance; Though the light of understanding, and the fervencie of affections I hold the main and most necessarie requisites both in constant, and occasionall, solitarie, and sociall Devotions.

So that I must needs seem to all equal minds with as much reason to prefer the service of my own Chaplains before that of their Ministers, as I do the Liturgie before their Directorie.

In the one I have been alwaies educated and exercised; In the other, I am not yet Catechized

chized, nor acquainted: And if I were, yet should I not by that, as by any certain rule and Canon of Devotion, be able to follow or find out the indirect extravagancies of most of those men, who highly cry up that as a piece of rare composure and use, which is already as much despised and disused by many of them, as the Common-Prayer sometimes was by those men; a great part of whose Pietie hung upon that popular pin of railing against, and contemning the Government, and Liturgie of this Church. But, I had rather be condemned to the wo of *Væ soli*, then to that of *Væ vobis Hypocritæ*, by seeming to pray what I do not approve.

It may be, I am esteemed by my Denyers sufficient of my Self to discharge my dutie to GOD as a Priest, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regal & Sacerdotal, might well become the same Person; as anciently they were under one name, and the united rights of primogeniture: nor could I follow better presidents, if I were able, then those two eminent Kings, *David* and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crowns, then one was for devout Psalms and Praiers; the other for his divine Parables and Preaching: whence the one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher.

er. Titles indeed of greater honour, where rightly placed, then any of those the Roman Emperors affected from the Nations they subdued: it being infinitely more glorious to convert Souls to Gods Church by the Word, then to conquer men to a subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of Gods wisdom and providence hath, for the most part, alwaies distinguished the gifts and offices of Kings, of Priests, of Princes and Preachers; both in the Jewish and Christian Churches: I am sorry to find My self reduced to the necessity of being both, or enjoying neither.

For such as seek to deprive Me of Kingly Power and Soveraigntie; would no lesse enforce Me to live many Moneths without all Praiers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unlesse I become My own Chaplain.

As I owe the Clergy the protection of a Christian KING, so I desire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers; which I look upon as more prevalent then My own, or other mens; by how much they flow from minds more enlightned, and affections lesse distracted, then those which are encombered with secular affairs: besides, I think a greater blessing and acceptablenes attends those duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that calling, to which God and

and the Church have ſpecially deſigned and conſecrated ſome men: And however, as to that Spirituall Government, by which the devout Soul is ſubject to Chriſt, and through his merits daily offers it ſelf and its ſervices to God, every private believer is a King and a Prieſt, inveſted with the honour of a Royall Prieſthood; yet as to Eccleſiaſtical order, and the outward policy of the Church, I think confuſion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Prieſt or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was always bred to more modeſt, and I think to more pious Principles: the conſciouſneſs to my ſpirituall defects makes Me more prize and deſire thoſe pious aſſiſtances, which holy and good Miniſters, either Biſhops or Presbyters, may afford Me; eſpecially in theſe extremities, to which God hath been pleaſed to ſuffer ſome of my Subjects to reduce me; ſo as to leave them nothing more, but my life to take from Me: and to leave me nothing to deſire, which I thought might leſs provoke their jealouſie and offence to deny Me, then this of having ſome means afforded Me for my Souls comfort and ſupport.

To which end I made choice of men, as no way (that I know) ſcandalous, ſo every way eminent for their learning and piety, no leſs

then for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made against them, but onely this, that they may seem too able, and too well affected toward Me and My Service.

But this is not the first service (as I count it the best) in which they have forced Me to serve my self; though I must confess I bear with more grief and impatience the want of My Chaplains, then of My other Servants; and next (if not beyond in some things) to the being sequestred from My Wife and Children; since from these indeed more of humane and temporary affections, but from those more of heavenly and eternall improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that in the enforced (not neglected) want of ordinary means, God is wont to afford extraordinary supplies of his Gifts and Graces.

If his Spirit will teach me, and help my infirmities in prayer, reading and meditation (as I hope he will) I shall need no other, either Orator, or Instructer.

To thee therefore, O my God, do I direct my now solitary Prayers; What I want of others help, supply with the more immediate assistance of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten my darknesse, and quicken my dulnesse.

O

O thou Sun of righteousnesse, thou sacred Fountain of heavenly light and heat, at once cleer and warm my heart, both by instructing of me, and interceding for me; In thee is all fulnesse, From thee all sufficiency, By thee is all acceptance. Thou art compasse enough, and comfort enough; Thou art my King, be also my Prophet and my Priest. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me; and be thou ever with me.

The single wrestlings of Jacob *prevailed with thee in that sacred Duel, when he had none to second him but thy selfe; who didst assist him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to wrest a blessing from thee.*

O look on me thy servant, in infinite mercy, whom thou didst once blesse with the joynt and sociated Devotion of others, whose fervency might inflame the coldnesse of my affections towards thee: when wee went to meet in thy House with the voice of joy and gladnesse, worshipping thee in the unity of spirits, and with the bond of peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving of those happy opportunities.

It is now thy pleasure that I should be as a Pelican in the wildernesse, as a Sparrow on the house top, and as a coale scattered from all those pious glowings and devout reflections, which might best kindle, preserve, and increase

crease the holy fire of thy Graces on the Alt of my heart, whence the sacrifices of prayer and incense of praises might be duly offered to thee.

Yet, O thou that breakest not the bruised reed nor quenchest the smoaking flax, do not despise the weakness of my prayers, nor the smotherings of my soul in this uncomfortable loanesse to which I am constrained by some mens uncharitable denials of those helps, which I much want, and no lesse desire.

O let the hardness of their hearts occasion the softnings of mine to thee, and for them. Let their hatred kindle my love, let their unreasonable denials of my religious desires the more excite my prayers to thee: Let their inexorable deafnesse incline thine ear to me, who art a God easie to be intreated; thine ear is not heavie, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it will not hear, nor thy hand shortned, that it cannot help me thy desolate Suppliant.

Thou permittest men to deprive me of those outward means which thou hast appointed in thy Church; but they cannot deburre me from the communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breatheſt into humble hearts.

O make me such, and thou wilt teach me, thou wilt hear me, thou wilt help me: The broken and contrite heart I know thou wilt not despise: Thou, O Lord canst at once make me thy temple

thy

thy Priest, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar; while from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up in thy Meditations, fervent Prayers, and unfeigned Tears, my Self to thee; who preparest me for thee, wellest in me, and acceptest of me.

Thou, O Lord, didst cause by secret supplies and miraculous infusions, that the handful of meal in the vessel should not spend, nor the little oyl in the cruise fail the widow, during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on my soul, which as a widow, is now desolate and forsaken: Let not those saving truths I have formerly learned now fail my memory; nor the sweet effusions of thy Spirit, which I have sometime felt, now be wanting to my heart in this famine of ordinary and wholsom food for the refreshing of my soul.

Which yet I had rather chuse then to feed from those hands who mingle my bread with ashes, and my wine with gall, rather tormenting, then teaching me; whose mouths are proner to bitter reproaches of me, then to hearty prayers for me.

Thou knowest, O Lord of truth, how oft they wrest thy holy Scriptures to my destruction, (which are clear for their subjection, and my preservation) O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knowest how some men (under colour of long prayers) have sought to devour the houses of their Brethren, their King, and their God. O let not those mens balms break my head, nor

their Cordials oppreſs my heart, I will evermore pray againſt their wickedneſs.

From the poyſon under their tongues, from the ſnares of their lips, from the fire, and the ſword of their words ever deliver me, O Lord, and all thoſe loyal and religious hearts, who deſire and delight in the proſperity of my ſoul, and who ſeek by their prayers to relieve this ſadneſs and ſolitude of thy ſervant, O my King and my God.

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25. Penitential Meditations and Vows in the Kings ſolitude at *Holmby.*

GIve ear to my words, O Lord, conſider my Meditation, and hearken to the voyce of my cry, my King and my God, for unto thee will I pray.

I ſaid in my haſte, I am caſt out of the ſight of thine eyes; nevertheleſs, thou heareſt the voyce of my ſupplication, when I cry unto thee.

If thou, Lord, ſhouldſt be extream to mark what is done amiſs, who can abide it? But there is mercy with thee, that thou mayeſt be feared; therefore ſhall ſinners flie unto thee.

I acknowledg my ſins before thee, which have the aggravation of my condition; the eminencie of

of my place, adding weight to my offences.

Forgive, I beseech thee, my personal, and my peoples sins; which are so far mine, as I have not improved the power thou gavest me, to thy glorie, and my Subjects good: Thou hast now brought me from the glorie and freedom of a King, to be a Prisoner to my own Subjects. Justlie, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, because in many things I have rebelled against thee.

Though thou hast restrained my person, yet enlarg my heart to thee, & thy grace towards me.

I come far short of Davids *pietie; yet since I may equal* Davids *afflictions, give me also the comforts, and the sure mercies of* David.

Let the penitent sense I have of my sins, be an evidence to me, that thou hast pardoned them.

Let not the evils, which I and my Kingdoms have suffered seem little unto thee, though thou hast not punished us according to our sins.

Turn thee (O Lord) unto me; have mercy upon me, for I am desolate and afflicted.

The sorrows of my heart are enlarged: O bring thou me out of my troubles.

Hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and shut up thy loving kindness in displeasure?

O remember thy compassions of old, and thy loving kindnesses, which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not believed to

see thy goodnesse in the land of the living.

Let not the sins of our prosperitie deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fiery triall consume the drosse which in long peace and plentie We had contracted.

Though thou continuest miseries, yet withdraw not thy grace; What is wanting of prosperitie, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned away, but thy hand of Justice must be stretched out still: Let it, I beseech thee, be against me, and my Fathers house; as for these sheep, what have they done?

Let my sufferings satiate the malice of mine, and thy Churches enemies.

But let their crueltie never exceed the measure of my charitie.

Banish from me all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not lose the reward, nor thou the glorie of my patience.

As thou givest me an heart to forgive them, so I beseech thee, do thou forgive what they have done against thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou hast given me an heart to pray unto thee; so hear and accept this Vow which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercie remember Me, and my Kingdoms; In continuing the light of thy Gospel, and settling thy true Religion among

In

In restoring to us the benefits of the Laws, and the due execution of Justice:

In suppressing the many Schismes in Church, and Factions in Sate:

If thou wilt restore me and mine to the Ancient rights and glory of my Predecessors:

If thou wilt turn the hearts of my people to thy self in Pietie, to me in Loyaltie, and to one another in Charitie:

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the fewell of these Civill Wars:

If thou wilt bless us with the freedom of Publike Counsels, and deliver the Honour of Parliaments from the insolency of the vulgar:

If thou wilt keep me from the great offence of enacting any thing against my Conscience: and especially for consenting to sacrilegious rapines, and spoilings of thy Church:

If thou wilt restore me to a capacity to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State:

Then shall my soul praise thee, and Magnifie thy name before my people.

Then shall thy glorie be dearer to me then my Crown; and the advancement of true Religion both in puritie and power be my chiefest care.

Then will I rule my People with justice, and my Kingdoms with equity:

To thy more immediate hand shal I ever own

as the rightfull succession, so the mercifull restauration of my Kingdoms, and the glorie of them.

If thou wilt bring me again with Peace safetie and honour, to my chiefest City and my Parliament:

If thou wilt again put the Sword of Justice into my hand to punish and protect:

Then will I make all the world to see, and my very Enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and resolution of Christian charitie, which I now make unto thee O Lord.

As I do freely pardon for Christ's sake those that have offended me in any kind; so my hand shall never be against any man to revenge what is past, in regard of any particular injurie done to me.

We have been mutually punished in our unnaturall divisions, for thy sake O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer have I purposed this in my heart, That I will use all means in the waies of amnesty, and indempnitie; which may most fullie remove all feares, and burie all jealousies in forgetfulnesse.

Let thy mercies be towards me and mine, as my resolutions of Truth and Peace are towards my people.

Hear my praier O Lord, which goeth not out of feigned lips.

Blessed be God, who hath not turned away my

prayer

prayer, or taken his mercy from me.

O my soul commit thy way to the Lord, trust in him and he shall bring it to pass.

But if thou wilt not restore me and mine, what am I that I should charge thee foolishly?

Thou, ô Lord hast given, and thou hast taken, Blessed be thy name.

May my people and thy Church be happie if if not by me, yet without me.

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26. *Upon the Armies surprisall of the King at* Holmby, *and the ensuing distractions in the two Houses, the Army, and the City.*

WHat part God will have me now to act or suffer in this new and strange scene of affaires, I am not much solicitous; some little practise will serve that man, who only seeks to represent a part of honesty and honour.

This surprize of me tels the world, that a KING cannot be so low, but he is considerable, adding weight to that party where he appears.

This motion, like others of the Times, ſeems excentrique and irregular; yet not well to be reſiſted or quieted: Better ſwim down ſuch a ſtream, then in vain to ſtrive againſt it.

Theſe are but the ſtruglings of thoſe twins, which lately one womb encloſed, the younger ſtriving to prevail againſt the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now ſeek to catch for themſelves.

So impoſſible it is for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, ſo much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of Babel ſhould from diviſion fall to confuſion, is no wonder; but for thoſe that pretend to build Jeruſalem, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill Omen; and ſounds too like the fury of thoſe Zealots, whoſe inteſtine bitterneſs and diviſions were the greateſt occaſion of the laſt fatall deſtruction of that Citie.

Well may I change my Keepers and Priſon, but not my captive condition, onely with this hope of bettering, that thoſe who are ſo much profeſſed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly againſt the Liberty of their KING; what they demand for their own Conſciences, they cannot in Reaſon deny to mine.

In this they ſeem more ingenuous, then the Preſ-

Presbyterian rigour, who sometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to laws, are become the greatest Exactours of other mens submission to their novel injunctions, before they are stamped with the Authority of Laws, which they cannot well have without my Consent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themselves manumitted from their Rivals service, in that they carry on a businesse of such consequence, as the assuming my Person into the Armies custody, without any commission, but that of their own will and power. Such as will thus adventure on a KING, must not be thought over-modest, or timerous to carry on any designe they have a mind to.

Their next motion menaces, and scares both the two Houses and the City: which soon after acting over again that former part of Tumultuary motions, (never questioned, punish'd or repented) must now suffer for both; and see their former sin in the glasse of the present terrours and distractions.

No man is so blinde as not to see herein the hand of divine Justice; They that by Tumults first occasioned the raising of Armies, must now be chastned by their own Army for new Tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one sin,

This motion, like others of the Times, seems excentrique and irregular; yet not well to be resisted or quieted: Better swim down such a stream, then in vain to strive against it.

These are but the struglings of those twins, which lately one womb enclosed, the younger striving to prevail against the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now seek to catch for themselves.

So impossible it is for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of Babel should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder; but for those that pretend to build Jerusalem, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill Omen; and sounds too like the fury of those Zealots, whose intestine bitterness and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fatall destruction of that Citie.

Well may I change my Keepers and Prison, but not my captive condition, onely with this hope of bettering, that those who are so much professed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly against the Liberty of their KING; what they demand for their own Consciences, they cannot in Reason deny to mine.

In this they seem more ingenuous, then the Pres-

Presbyterian rigour, who sometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to laws, are become the greatest Exactours of other mens submission to their novel injunctions, before they are stamped with the Authority of Laws, which they cannot well have without my Consent.

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No man is so blinde as not to see herein the hand of divine Justice; They that by Tumults first occasioned the raising of Armies, must now be chastned by their own Army for new Tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one sin,

but add sin to sin, till the later punish the former; such as were content to see Me and many Members of both Houses driven away by the first unsuppressed Tumults, are now forced to flie to an Armie, or defend themselves against them.

But who can unfold the riddle of some mens justice? The Members of both Houses who at first withdrew (as my Self was forced to do) from the rudeness of the Tumults, were counted Deserters, and outed of their places in Parliament.

Such as stayed then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were asserted for the onely Parliament-men: now the Fliers from, and Forsakers of their Places, carry the Parliamentary power along with them; complain highly against the Tumults, and vindicate themselves by an Armie: such as remained and kept their stations, are looked upon as Abettors of Tumultuary Insolencies, and Betrayers of the Freedom and Honour of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law; where men look more to present Advantages then their Consciences, and the unchangeable rules of Justice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themselves.

Now the plea against Tumults holds good, the

the Authours and Abettors of them are guiltie of prodigious insolencies; when as before they were counted as Friends, and necessary Assistants.

I see Vengeance pursues and overtakes (as the Mice and Rats are said to have done the Bishop in *Germanie*) them that thought to have escaped, and fortified themselves most impregnably against it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will punish by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but observe this divine Justice, yet with sorrow and pity; for, I always wished so well to Parliament and Citie, that I was sorry to see them do, or suffer any thing unworthy such great and considerable Bodies in this Kingdom.

I was glad to see them onely scared and humbled, not broken by that shaking: I never had so ill a thought of those Cities, as to despair of their Loyaltie to Me; which mistakes might eclipse, but I never beleeved malice had quite put out.

I pray God the storm be yet wholly passed over them, upon whom I look as Christ did sometime over *Jerusalem*, as objects of my prayers and tears, with compassionate grief, foreseeing those severer scatterings which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to be gathered

gathered to their duty: fatall blindneſſe frequently attending and puniſhing wilfulneſſe, ſo that men ſhall not be able at laſt to prevent their ſorrows, who would not timely repent of their ſins; nor ſhall they be ſuffered to enjoy the comforts, who ſecurely neglect the counſels belonging to their peace. They will finde that brethren in iniquitie are not far from becoming inſolent Enemies, there being nothing harder then to keep ill men long in one minde.

Nor is it poſſible to gain a fair period for thoſe notions which go rather in a round and circle of fanſie, then in a right line of reaſon tending to the Law, the onely center of publike conſiſtency; whither I pray God at laſt bring all ſides.

Which will eaſily be done, when we ſhall fully ſee how much more happie we are, to be ſubject to the known Laws, then to the various wils of any men, ſeem they never ſo plauſible at firſt.

Vulgar compliance with any illegal and extravagant wayes, like violent motions in nature, ſoon grows weary of it ſelf, and ends in a refractory ſullenneſſe: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who firſt put them upon thoſe violent ſtrokes.

For the Army (which is ſo far excuſable, as they act according to Souldiers principles, and intereſts,

intereſts, demanding pay and indemnity. I think it neceſſary, in order to the publike peace, that they ſhould be ſatisfied, as far as is juſt; no man being more prone to conſider them then my Self: though they have fought againſt Me, yet I cannot but ſo far eſteem that valour and gallantry they have ſometime ſhewed, as to wiſh I may never want ſuch men to maintain my Self, my Laws, and my Kingdoms, in ſuch a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their ſhare and proportion, as much as any men.

But thou, O Lord, who art perfect Unity in a ſacred Trinity, in mercy behold thoſe whom thy juſtice hath divided.

Deliver me from the ſtrivings of my People, and make Me to ſee how much they need my prayers and pity, who agreed to fight againſt me, and yet are now ready to fight againſt one another, to the continuance of my Kingdoms diſtractions.

Diſcover to all ſides the ways of peace from which they have ſwerved: which conſiſts not in the divided wils of Parties, but in the point and due obſervation of the Laws.

Make me willing to go whither thou wilt lead me by thy providence; and be thou ever with me, that I may ſee thy conſtancy in the worlds varieti and changes.

Make

Make me even ſuch as thou wouldſt have Me, that I may at laſt enjoy that ſafetie and tranquillity which thou alone canſt give Me.

Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavie wrath juſtly hanging over thoſe populous Cities, whoſe plenty is prone to add fewel to their luxurie, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to ſecuritie, and their ſecuritie expoſing them to unexpected miſeries.

Give them eys to ſee, hearts to conſider, wils to embrace, and courage to act thoſe things which belong to thy glorie, and the publique Peace, leſt their calamitie come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them that they cannot want Enemies who abonnd in ſin; nor ſhall they be long undiſarmed and un-deſtroyed, who with an high hand perſiſting to fight againſt Thee, and the cleer convictions of their own Conſcientes, fight more againſt themſelves, then ever they did againſt Me.

Their ſins expoſing them to thy Juſtice, their riches to others injuries, their number to Tumults, and Tumults to confuſion.

Though they have with much forwardneſſe helped to deſtroy Me; yet let not my fall be their ruine.

Let Me not ſo much conſider, hither what they have done, or I have ſuffered [chiefly at firſt, by them] as to forget to imitate my crucified Redeemer,

deemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon; and in my dying extremities to pray to Thee, O Father, to forgive them, for they know not what they did.

The tears they have denied me in my saddest condition, give them grace to bestow upon themselves; who the lesse they were for me, the more cause they have to weep for themselves.

O let not my blood be upon them and their Children, whom the fraud and faction of some, not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie me.

But thou, O Lord, canst and wilt (as thou didst my Redeemer) both exalt and perfect me by my sufferings, which have more in them of thy Mercie, then of mans Crueltie, or thy own Justice.

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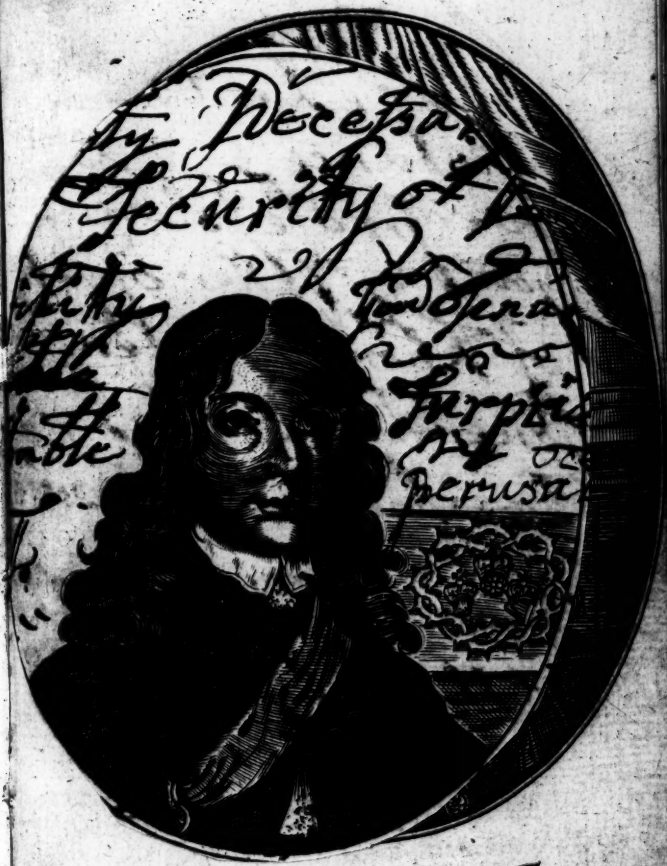
27. *To the Prince of* Wales.

SOn, If theſe Papers with ſome others, wherein I have ſet down the private reflections of my Conſcience, and my moſt impartiall thoughts touching the chief paſſages, which have been moſt remarkable or diſputed in my late troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly deſigned; they may be ſo far uſefull to you, as to ſtate your judgement aright in what hath paſſed; whereof a pious is the beſt uſe can be made; and they may alſo give you ſome directions, how to remedy the preſent diſtempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is ſome kind of deceiving and leſſening the injury of my long reſtraint, when I find my leiſure and ſolitude have produced ſomething worthy of my ſelf, and uſefull to you; That neither You nor any other may hereafter meaſure my Cauſe by the Succeſſe, nor my judgment of things by my Misfortunes, which I count the greater by far, becauſe they have ſo far lighted upon you and ſome others whom I have moſt cauſe to love as well as my ſelf, and of whoſe unmerited ſufferings I have a greater ſenſe then of Mine own.

But this advantage of wiſdom You have above moſt Princes, that You have begun,

and



Natus May 29 Anº 1630 Ætatis suæ

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27. *To the Prince of* Wales.

SOn, If these Pap[illegible] some others, wherein I hav[illegible]te reflections of my [illegible] partiall thoug[illegible]es, which ha[illegible] in my l[illegible] whom [illegible] so far [illegible] ment [illegible] piou[illegible] also [illegible] the p[illegible] will)[illegible]

It is [illegible] injury [illegible] sure a[illegible] worthy[illegible] ther Yo[illegible] sure my [illegible] ment of t[illegible] count the gr[illegible] far lighted upo[illegible] I have most cause to [illegible], and of whose unmerited fun[illegible] have a greater sense then of Mine own.

But this advantage of wisdom You have above most Princes, that You have begun, and

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and now ſpent ſome years of diſcretion, in the experience of troubles, and exerciſe of patience, wherein Piety, and all Vertues, both Morall and Politicall, are commonly better planted to a thriving (as trees ſet in winter) then in the warmth, and ſerenity of times, or amidſt thoſe delights, which uſually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty, which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Vertue and Honour, or to be contented only with ſome leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any reall fruits, ſuch as tend to the publique good, for which Princes ſhould alwaies remember they are born, and by providence deſigned.

The evidence of which different education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam*: The one prepared by many afflictions for a flouriſhing Kingdom, the other ſoftned by the unparaleld proſperity of Solomons Court, and ſo corrupted to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honor, and Kingdom, by thoſe flatteries, which are as unſeparable from proſperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in ſummer; whom adverſitie, like cold weather, drives away.

I had rather you ſhould be *Charles le Bon*, then *le Grand*, good then great. I hope God hath deſigned you to be both, having ſo early put you into that exerciſe of his Graces, and

Gifts

gifts beſtowed upon you, which may beſt weed out all vitious inclinations, and diſpoſe you to thoſe Princely endowments, and employments, which will moſt gain the love, and intend the welfare of thoſe, over whom God ſhall place you.

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Soveraign diſpoſer of the Kingdomes of the world, who pulleth down one, and ſetteth up another.

The beſt Government, and higheſt Soveraignty you can attain to, is, to be ſubject to him, that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit, may rule in your heart.

The true glory of Princes conſiſts in advancing Gods Glory in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good; Alſo in the diſpenſation of civil Power, with Juſtice and Honour to the publique peace.

Pietie will make you proſperous; at leaſt it will keep you from being miſerable; nor is he much a loſer, that loſeth all, yet ſaveth his own ſoul at laſt.

To which Center of true happineſs, God, I truſt, hath and will graciouſly direct all theſe black lines of affliction, which he hath been pleaſed to draw on me, and by which he hath [I hope] drawn me nearer to himſelf. You have already taſted of that Cup whereof I have

have liberally drank, which I look upon as Gods Phyſick, having that in healthfulneſs which it wants in pleaſure.

Above all, I would have you, as I hope you are already, wel-grounded and ſetled in your Religion: The beſt profeſſion of which, I have ever eſteemed that of the church of England, in which you have been educated; yet I would have your own Judgment and Reaſon now ſeal to that ſacred bond which education hath written, that it may be judiciouſly your owne Religion, and not other mens cuſtome or tradition, which you profeſs.

In this I charge you to perſevere, as comming neareſt to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the primitive examples for Government, with ſome little amendment, which I have otherwhere expreſſed and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be more neceſſary for your ſoul's then your Kingdoms peace, when God ſhall bring you to them.

For I have obſerved, that the Devill of Rebellion, doth commonly turn himſelf into an Angel of Reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights; when ſome mens Conſciences accuſe them for Sedition and Faction, they ſtop its mouth with the name and noiſe of Religion; when Pietie pleads for peace and patience, they cry out *Zeal*.

So

So that, unleſs in this point You be well ſetled, you ſhall never want temptations to deſtroy you and yours, under pretenſions of reforming matters of Religion; for that ſeems even to worſt men, as the beſt and moſt auſpicious beginning of their worſt deſigns.

Where, beſides the Noveltie which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by ſeeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to be thought zealous, hoping to cover thoſe irreligious deformities, wherto they are conſcious, by a ſeverity of cenſuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publick Diſcriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your Judgement and the Church well ſetled: your partiall adhering, as head, to any one ſide gaines you not ſo great advantages in ſome mens hearts (who are proneto be of their kings Religion) as it loſeth you in others, who think themſelves, and their profeſſion firſt deſpiſed, then perſecuted by you. Take ſuch a courſe as may either with calmneſs & charity quite remove the ſeeming differences and offences, by impartiality, or ſo order affairs in point of power that you ſhal not need to fear or flatter any faction; for if ever you ſtand in need of them, or muſt ſtand to their curteſie, you are undon: The Serpent will devour the Dove: you may never

never expect leſs of Loyaltie, Juſtice or humanity, then from thoſe who engage into religious Rebellion: Their intereſt is always made Gods; under the colours of piety, ambitious policies march, not onely with greateſt ſecurity, but applauſe, as to the Populacy; you may hear from them *Jacob's* voice, but you ſhall feel they have *Eſau's* hands.

Nothing ſeemed leſs conſiderable then the Presbyterian Faction in *England*, for many yeers; ſo complyant they were to publique order: nor indeed was their Party great, either in Church or State, as to mens judgements: But as ſoon as diſcontents drave men into Sidings (as ill humors fall to the diſaffected part, which cauſes inflammations) ſo did all, at firſt, who affected any novelties, adhere to that ſide, as the moſt remarkable and ſpecious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the leſſer Factions at firſt were officious ſervants to Presbytery their great Maſter: till time and military ſucceſs diſcovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part ſtakes, and leaving the joynt ſtock of uniform Religion, pretended each to drive for their Party, the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State, but even of Presbytery it ſelf, which ſeemed and hoped at firſt to have engroſſed all.

Let

Let nothing ſeem little or deſpicable to you, in matters which concern Religion, and the Churches peace, ſo as to neglect a ſpeedy reforming and effectual ſuppreſſing Errors, and Schiſms, which ſeem at firſt but as a handbredth, but by ſeditious Spirits as by ſtrong winds are ſoon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done juſtice to God, your own ſoul and his Church, in the profeſſion and preſervation both of truth and unitie in Religion. The next main hinge on which your proſperitie will depend, and move, is, That of civil Juſtice, wherein the ſetled Laws of theſe Kingdoms, to which you are rightly heir, are the moſt excellent rules you can govern by; which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects induſtry, libertie, and happineſs; and yet reſerve enough to the Majeſtie and Prerogative of any King, who owns his people as Subjects, not as ſlaves; whoſe ſubjection, as it preſerves their propertie, peace, and ſafetie; ſo it will never diminiſh your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties; which conſiſts in the enjoyment of the fruits of their induſtry, and the benefit of thoſe Laws to which themſelves have conſented.

Never charge your Head with ſuch a Crown, as ſhall by its heavineſs oppreſs the whole body, the weakneſs of whoſe parts cannot

not return any thing of ſtrength, honor, or ſafety, to the Head, but a neceſſary debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is beſt ſhewed, and exerciſed in remitting, rather then exacting the rigor of the Laws, there being nothing worſe, then legal tyrannie.

In theſe two points, the preſervation of eſtabliſhed Religion and Laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproach of my ſufferings, as to the worlds cenſure, into the honor of a kinde of Martyrdom, as to the teſtimony of my own Conſcience. The troublers of my Kingdoms having nothing elſe to object againſt me but this, That I prefer Religion, and Laws eſtabliſhed, before thoſe alterations they propounded.

And ſo indeed I do, and ever ſhall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, then what hitherto have been chiefly uſed towards me, Tumults, Armies, and Priſons.

I cannot yet learn that leſſon, nor I hope ever will you, That it is ſafe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the publike Intereſt, and the good of the communitie.

How God will deal with me, as to the removal of theſe preſſures, and indignities, which his juſtice by the very unjuſt hands of ſome of my Subjects, hath been pleaſed to lay upon

Me

me, I cannot tell: nor am I much ſolicitous what wrong I ſuffer from men, while I retain in my ſoul, what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety, that in Reaſon, Honor and Conſcience, I can; reſerving onely what I cannot conſent unto, without an irreparable injury to my own ſoul, the Church, and my people, and to you alſo; as the next and undoubted Heir of my Kingdoms.

To which, if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are inſuperable, ſhall in his due time after my deceaſe bring you, as I hope he will: My Counſel and Charge to you, is, That you ſeriouſly conſider the former real or objected miſcarriages, which might occaſion my troubles, that you may avoyd them.

Never repoſe ſo much upon any mans ſingle counſel, fidelity, and diſcretion, in managing affairs of the firſt magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Juſtice) as to create in your ſelf, or others, a diffidence of your own judgment, which is likely to be always more conſtant and impartial to the intereſt of your Crown and Kingdom then any mans.

Next, beware of exaſperating any Factions by the croſsneſs, and aſperity of ſome mens paſſions, humors, or private opinions, imployed by you, grounded onely upon the differences

ferences in leſſer matters, which are but the skirts and ſuburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Chriſtian toleration often diſſipates their ſtrength, whom rougher oppoſition fortifies; and puts the deſpiſed and oppreſſed party, into ſuch Combinations, as may moſt enable them to get a full revenge on thoſe they count their Perſecutors, who are commonly aſſiſted by that vulgar commiſeration, which attends all, that are ſaid to ſuffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an inſolent oppoſition of Laws, and Government, or Religion eſtabliſhed, as to the eſſentials of them, ſuch motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwaies keep up ſolid piety, and thoſe fundamental Truths (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartial Favour and Juſtice.

Take heed that outward circumſtances and formalities of Religion devoure not all, or the beſt incouragements of learning, induſtry, and piety; but with an equal eye and impartial hand, diſtribute Favours and Rewards to all men, as you find them for their real goodneſſe both in abilities and fidilitie worthy and capable of them.

This will be ſure to gain you the hearts of

the best and the most too: who though they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severer ways of vertue at any time sweetned by temporall rewards.

I have, You see, conflicted with different and opposite Factions (for so I must needs call and count all those that act not in any conformity to the Laws established in Church and State;) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their common Enemy (that is, all those that adhered to the Laws, and to Me) and are secured from that fear, but they are divided to so high a rivalry, as sets them more at defiance against each other, then against their first Antagonists.

Time will dissipate all Factions, when once the rough horns of private mens covetous and ambitious designes shall discover themselves; which were at first wrapt up and hidden under the soft and smooth pretensions of Religion, Reformation and Liberty. As the Wolf is not less cruell, so he wil be more justly hated, when he shall appear no better then a Wolf under Sheeps cloathing.

But as for the seduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their simplicity follow those disguises; My Charge and Counsell to You, is, That as you need no palliations for any Designes, (as other men) so that you study really to exceed [in true and constant demonstrations

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tions of goodneſs, piety, and vertue towards the people] even all thoſe men that make the greateſt noiſe and oſtentations of Religion; ſo you ſhall neither fear any detection (as they do who have but the face and mask of goodneſs) nor ſhall you fruſtrate the juſt expectations of your people; who cannot in Reaſon promiſe themſelves ſo much good from any Subjects novelties, as from the vertuous conſtancy of their King.

When theſe mountains of congealed Factions ſhall by the Sun-ſhine of Gods Mercy, and the ſplendor of your Vertues, be thawed and diſſipated; and the abuſed Vulgar ſhall have learned, that none are greater Oppreſſours of their Eſtates, Liberties, and Conſciences, then thoſe men that intitle themſelves The Patrons and Vindicators of them, only to uſurp power over them: Let then no paſſion betray You to any ſtudy of revenge upon thoſe, whoſe own ſin and folly will ſufficiently puniſh them in due time.

But as ſoon as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, uſe all Princely arts and clemency to heal the wounds; that the ſmart of the cure may not equall the anguiſh of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indemnity and Oblivion to ſo great a latitude, as may in-

clude all, that can but ſuſpect themſelves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws; and which might ſerve to exclude al future jealouſies and inſecurities.

I would have You alwaies propenſe to the ſame way, when ever it ſhall be deſired and accepted, let it be granted, not only as an Act of State-policie and neceſſitie, but of Chriſtian charitie and choice.

It is all I have now left Me, a power to forgive thoſe that have deprived Me of all; and I thank God, I have a heart to do it, and joy as much in this grace, which God hath given Me, as in all My former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of Gods love to Me, then any proſperitie can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the moſt of all ſides, who have done amiſs, have done ſo, not out of malice, but miſ-information, or miſ-apprehenſion of things.

None will be more loyal and faithful to Me and You, then thoſe Subjects, who ſenſible of their Errors, and our Injuries, will feel in their own Souls moſt vehement motives to repentance, and earneſt deſires to make ſome reparations for their former defects.

As Your qualitie ſets You beyond any Duel with any Subject, ſo the Nobleneſs of Your mind muſt raiſe You above the meditating any

any revenge, or executing Your anger upon the many.

The more conscious You shall be to Your Own Merits upon Your people, the more prone You will be to expect all love and loyalty from them, and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscarriages: You will have more inward complacency in pardoning one, then in punishing a thousand.

This I write to You, not despairing of Gods Mercy, and My Subjects Affections towards You, both which, I hope You will study to deserve, yet We cannot merit of God, but by his own mercy.

If God shall see fit to restore Me, and You after Me, to those enjoyments, which the Laws have assigned to Us, and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and sin can devest Us of, then may I have better opportunity, when I shall be so happy to see You in peace, to let You more fully understand the things that belong to Gods glory, Your own honor, and the Kingdoms peace.

But if You never see My face again, and God will have Me buried in such a barbarous Imprisonment & obscurity, [which the perfecting some mens designs requires] wherin few hearts that love Me are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with Me; I do require and entreat You as Your Father, and Your KING

that you never ſuffer your heart to receive the leaſt check againſt or diſaffection from the true Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*.

I tell you I have tried it, and after much ſearch, and many diſputes, have concluded it to be the beſt in the world, not only in the Community, as Chriſtian, but alſo in the ſpeciall notion, as Reformed, keeping the middle way between the pomp of ſuperſtitious Tyranny, and the meanneſs of fantaſtique Anarchy.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the main, both for Doctrine and Government, in the Church of *England*) ſome lines, as in very good figures, may happily need ſome ſweetning, or poliſhing, which might here have eaſily been done by a ſafe and gentle hand: if ſome mens precipitancy had not violently demanded ſuch rude alterations, as would have quite deſtroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The ſcandall of the late Troubles, which ſome may object, and urge to you againſt the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*, is eaſily anſwered to them, or your own thoughts in this; That ſcarce any one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Proſecutor of this late Warr againſt the Church, the Laws, and me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer,

Embracer or practiſer of the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*: which neither gives ſuch rules, nor ever before ſet ſuch examples.

'Tis true, ſome heretofore had the boldneſs to preſent threatning Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the ſame Faction (but of worſe Spirits) have now put in execution: but let not counterfeit and diſorderly Zeal abate your value and eſteem of true piety; both of them are to be known by their fruits; the ſweetneſs of the Vine and Fig-tree is not to be deſpiſed, though the brambles and thorns ſhould pretend to bear figs and grapes, thereby to rule over the trees.

Nor would I have you to entertain any averſation or diſlike of Parliaments, which in their right conſtitution with freedom and honour will never injure or diminiſh your greatneſſe; but will rather be as interchangings of love, loyaltie and confidence betwen a Prince and his People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other then ſuch (however much biaſſed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preſerved from the inſolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impreſſions: The ſad effects of which will no doubt make all Parliaments after this, more cautious to preſerve that Freedom and Honour

which belong to such Assemblies when once they have fully shaken off this yoak of Vulgar encroachment] since the publick interest consists in the mutual and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happie for all, then in fair, grave, and honourable waies to contribute their Councels in Common, enacting all things by publick consent, without Tyrannie or Tumults. We must not starve our selves, because some men have surfeited of wholesome food.

And if neither I, nor you, be ever restored to our Rights, but God in his severest justice, will punish My Subjects with continuance in their sin, and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperity of their wickednesse; I hope God will give Me and You, that grace, which will teach and enable Us, to want, as well as to wear a Crown, which is not worth taking up, or enjoying upon sordid, dishonourable, and irreligious terms.

Keep you to true Principles of Piety, vertue, and honour, You shall never want a Kingdom.

A principal Point of Your honour will consist in Your referring all respect, love, and protection to Your Mother, My Wife, who hath many waies deserved well of Me, and chiefly in this, That [having been a means to

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bleſs me with ſo many hopeful Children; (all which, with their Mother, *I* recommend to Your love and care) Shee hath been content with incomparable magnanimity and patience to ſuffer both for, and with Me, and You.

My Prayer to God almightie is, (what ever becomes of me, who am *I* thank God, wrapt up and fortified in my own innocency, and his Grace) that he would be pleaſed to make You an Anchor, or Harbour rather, to theſe toſſed and weather-beaten Kingdoms; a Repairer by Your wiſdom, juſtice, piety, and valour, of what the folly and wickedneſſe of ſome men have ſo far ruined, as to leave nothing intire in Church or State, to the Crown, the Nobility, the Clergie, or the Commons, either as to Laws, Liberties, Eſtates, Order, Honour, Conſcience or lives.

When they have deſtroyed me, (for I know not how far God may permit the malice and crueltie of my Enemies to proceed, and ſuch apprehenſions ſome mens words and actions have already given me) as *I* doubt not but my bloud will cry aloud for vengeance to Heaven: ſo I beſeech God not to pour out his wrath upon the generality of the people, who have either deſerted me, or engaged againſt me, through the artifice and hypocriſie of their Leaders, whoſe inward horrour will be their

first Tormentor, nor will they escape exemplary judgments.

For those that loved me, I pray God, they may have no miss of me, when I am gone; so much I wish and hope, that all good Subjects may be satisfied with the blessings of your presence and vertues.

For those that repent of any defects in their duty toward me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian KING, so I beleeve you will find them truly Zealous, to repay with interest that loyalty and love to you, which was due to me.

In summe, what good I intended, do you perform, when God shall give you power; much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soon vanish, and the Vizards will fall off apace; This mask of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for so it now plainly appears, since my Restraint and cruell usage, that they fought not for me, as was pretended) wil not long serve to hide some mens deformities.

Happy times I hope, attend you, wherein your Subjects [by their miseries] will have learned, That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted without both their sin and their infelicity.

I pray God bless you and establish your Kingdoms in righteousness, your Soul in true Religion, and you honour in the love of God and your people.

And if God will have disloyalty perfected by my destruction; let my Memory ever, with my Name, live in you; as of you Father, that loves you, and once a KING of three flourishing Kingdoms; whom God thought fit to honour, not only with the Scepter and Government of them, but also with the suffering many indignities and an untimely death for them; while I studied to preserve the Rights of the Church, the Power of the Laws, the Honour of my Crown, the Priviledge of Parliaments, the Liberties of my People, and my own Conscience, which, I thank God, is dearer to me then a thousand Kingdoms.

I know God can, I hope he yet will restore me to my Rights. I cannot despair either of his mercy, or of my peoples love and pitie.

At worst, I trust I shall but go before you to a better Kingdom, which God hath prepared for me, and me for it, through my Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose mercies I commend You and all mine.

Farewell, till we meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

28. *Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addresſes, and His* Majeſties *cloſer Impriſonment in* Carisbrook-Caſtle.

AS I have leiſure enough, ſo I have cauſe more then enough, to meditate upon, and prepare for My Death: for I know, there are but few ſteps between the Priſons and Graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence which gives me the ſpace, but Mans cruelty that gives Me the ſad occaſions for theſe thoughts.

For, beſides the common burthen of mortalitie, which lies upon Me, as a Man; I now bear the heavy load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealouſies, and cruel paſſions, whoſe envie or enmity againſt Me, makes their own lives ſeem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of Mine.

I thank God, My proſperitie made Me not wholly a ſtranger to the contemplations of mortalitie.

Thoſe are never unſeaſonable, ſince this is alwaies uncertain: Death being an eclipſe, which

which oft happeneth as well in cleer as cloudy dayes.

But My now long and ſharp adverſity hath ſo reconciled in Me thoſe natural Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men, that I thank God, the common terrors of it are diſpelled; and the ſpecial horrour of it, as to My particular, much allayed: for although My Death at preſent may juſtly be repreſented to Me with all thoſe terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruel and implacable enemies can put upon it (affaires being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I bleſs God, I can look upon all thoſe ſtings, as unpoyſonous, though ſharp; ſince My Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given Me the Antidote of his Death againſt them, which as to the immaturity, injuſtice, ſhame, ſcorn, and cruelty of it, exceeded what ever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did find ſo much, the life of Religion, the feaſt of a good Conſcience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and conſtancy, as ſince I came to theſe cloſer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not ſo old, as to be wearie of life; nor (I hope) ſo bad, as to be either afraid to die, or aſhamed to live: true, I am ſo afflicted, as might make Me ſometime even deſire to die, if I did not conſider, That it is the greateſt

glory

glory of a Christians life to *die daily*, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life, those partiall and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piecemeales, and make us overlive our own fates: while we are deprived of health, honour, liberty, power, credit, safety, or estate; and those other comforts of deerest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though, as a KING, I think My self to live in nothing temporall so much, as in the love and good-will of my People; for which, as I have suffered many deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithstanding, My Enemies have used all the poyson of falsity and violence of hostility to destroy, first the love and Loyalty, which is in my Subjects; and then all that content of life in me, which from these I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left me but little of life, and only the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from me; having bereaved me of all those worldly comforts, for which life it self seems desirable to men.

But, O my Soul! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimity in

a

a good Cause, as are the greatest honour of our lives, and the best improvement of our deaths.

I know that in point of true Christian valor, it argues pusillanimity to desire to dye out of wearinesse of life, and a want of that heroick greatness of Spirit which becoms a Christian in the patient and generous sustaining those afflictions, which as shadows necessarily attend us, while we are in this body: and which are lessned or enlarged as the Sun of our prosperity moves higher, or lower: whose totall absence is best recompensed with the Dew of Heaven.

The assaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Sampsons* Lyon, but they yeild much sweetness to those that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without discontent or peevishness, while they may yet converse with God.

That *I* must die as a man, is certain; that *I* may die a King, by the hands of my own Subjects, a violent, sodain, barbarous death; in the strength of my years, in the midst of my Kingdoms; my Freinds and loving Subjects being helpless Spectators; my Enemies insolent Revilers and Triumphers over me, living, dying, and dead, is so probable in humane reason, that God hath taught me not to hope

Her-

otherwiſe as to mans crueltie; however, I deſpair not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know my life is the Object of the devils & wicked mens malice, but yet under Gods ſole cuſtodie and diſpoſal: whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by ſeeming prepared to die; but I humbly deſire to depend upon him, and to ſubmit to his will both in life and death, in what order ſoever he is pleaſed to lay them out to me. I confeſs it is not eaſie for me to contend with thoſe many horrours of Death, wherewith God ſuffers me to be tempted; which are equally horrid, either in the ſuddenneſſe of a barbarous Aſſaſination; or in thoſe greater formalities, whereby my Enemies [being more ſolemnly cruel] will, it may be, ſeek to adde [as thoſe did who Crucified Chriſt] the mockery of Juſtice, to the cruelty of malice: That I may be deſtroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, ſo with leſs pity: it will be but a neceſſary policie to make my Death appear as an Act of Juſtice, done by ſubjects upon their Soveraign, who know that no Law of God or Man inveſts them with any power of Judicature without me, much leſſe againſt me: and who, being ſworn, and bound by all that is ſacred before God and man, to endeavour my preſervation, muſt pretend Juſtice to cover their perjury.

It is, indeed, a ſad fate for any man to have his

his Enemies to be Accusers, Parties, and Judges; but most desperate, when this is acted by the insolence of Subjects against their Soveraign; wherein those, who have had the cheifest hand, and are most guitly of contriving the publick Troubles, must by shedding my bloud, seem to wash their own hands of that innocent bloud whereof they are now most evidently guilty before God and Man; and I beleeve in their own Consciences too, while they carried on unreasonable Demands, First by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes mean spirits more cowardly-cruel in managing their usurped power against their lawful Superiours then this, the *guilt of their unjust Usurpation*: notwithstanding those specious & popular pretentions of Justice against Delinquents applied only to disguise at first the monstrousnesse of their designs, who despaired, indeed, of possessing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the heir whose right it is, be cast out and slain.

With them My greatest fault must be, that I would not either destroy My Self with the Church and State by My word, or not suffer them to do it un-resisted by the Sword; whose covetous ambition no Concessions of Mine could ever yet either satisfie, or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think, that Kingdom of brambles which some men seek

to

to erect (at once weak, ſharp, and fruitleſſe, either to God or man) is like to thrive till watered with the Royal bloud of thoſe, whoſe right the Kingdom is.

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not but my Innocencie will finde him both my Protector and my Advocate, who is my only Judg; whom I own as King of Kings, not onely for the eminency of his Power and Majeſtie above them; but alſo for that ſingular care and protection which he hath over them; who knows them to be expoſed to as many dangers (being the greateſt patrons of Law, Juſtice, Order, and Religion on earth) as there be either Men or Devils, which love confuſion.

Nor will he ſuffer thoſe men long to proſper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones, and cement it with the bloud of their Kings.

I am confident they wil find Avengers of my death among themſelves: the injuries I have ſuſtained from them ſhall be firſt puniſhed by them, who agreed in nothing ſo much as in oppoſing me.

Their impatience to bear the loud cry of my bloud, ſhall make them think no way better to expiate it, then by ſhedding theirs, who with them moſt thirſted after mine.

The ſad confuſions following my deſtruction, are already preſaged and confirmed to me

me by thoſe I have lived to ſee ſince my troubles; in which God alone (who only could) hath many ways pleaded my cauſe; not ſuffering them to go unpuniſhed, whoſe confederacy in ſin was their only ſecurity; who have cauſe to fear that God will both further divide and by mutuall vengeance, afterward deſtroy them.

My greateſt conqueſt of death is from the power and love of Chriſt, who hath ſwallow'd up death in the Victory of his Reſurection, and the Glory of his Aſcention.

My next comfort is, that he gives me not only the honour to imitate his example in ſuffering for righteouſneſs ſake (though obſcur'd by the foulеſt charges of Tyranny and Injuſtice,) but alſo, that charity, which is the nobleſt revenge upon, and victory over my Deſtroyers: By which, I thank God, I can both forgive them and pray for them, that God would not impute my blood to them, further then to convince them, what need they have of Chriſts bloud to waſh their ſouls from the guilt of ſhedding mine.

At preſent, the will of mine Enemies ſeems to be their only rule, their power the meaſure, and their Succeſſe the Exactor, of what they pleaſe to call Juſtice, while they flatter themſelves with the fancy of their own ſafety by my danger, and the ſecurity of their lives deſignes

signs by My Death: forgetting, That as the greatest temptations to sin are wrapped up in seeming prosperities, so the severest vengeances of God are then most accomplished, when men are suffered to compleat their wicked purposes.

I bless God, I Pray not so much, that this bitter Cup of violent Death may pass from Me, as that of his wrath may pass from al those, whose hands by deserting Me, are sprinkled, or by Acting and Consenting to My Death are embrued with My Bloud.

The will of God hath confined, and concluded Mine; I shall have the pleasure of Dying, without any pleasure of desired vengeance.

This I think becomes a Christian toward his Enemies, and a King toward His Subjects.

They cannot deprive Me of more then I am content to lose, when God sees fit by their hands to take it from Me; whose mercy I beleive, will more then infinitely recompence what ever by mans injustice, he is pleased to deprive Me of.

The glory attending My Death, will far surpass all I could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I shall not want the heavy and envyed Crowns of this world, when My God hath mercifully Crowned and Consummated his graces with Glory, and exchanged the shadows of My earthly Kingdoms among men, for

for the ſubſtance of that Heavenlie Kingdom with himſelf.

For the cenſures of the world; I know the ſharp and neceſſarie tyrannie of My Deſtroyers will ſufficiently confute the calumnies of tyrannie againſt Me; I am perſwaded I am happie in the judicious love of the ableſt and beſt of My Subjects, who do not only Pitie and Pray for Me, but would be content even to die with Me, or for Me.

Theſe know how to excuſe My failings, as a man, and yet to retain and pay their dutie to Me, as their King; there being no religious neceſſitie binding any Subjects by pretending to puniſh, infinitely to exceed the faults and errors of their Princes, eſpecially there, where more then ſufficient ſatisfaction hath been made to the Publick; the enjoyment of which, private ambitions have hitherto fruſtrated.

Others, I beleeve, of ſofter tempers, and leſs advantaged by My ruine, do alreadie feel ſharp convictions, and ſome remorſe in their Conſciences: where they cannot but ſee the proportions of their evil dealings againſt Me in the meaſure of Gods retaliations upon them, who cannot hope long to enjoy their own thumbs and toes, having under pretence of paring others nails bin ſo cruel as to cut off their cheifeſt ſtrength.

The puniſhment of the more inſolent and obſti-

obſtinate, may be like that of *Korah* and his complices (at once mutining againſt both Prince and Prieſt) in ſuch a method of divine juſtice, as is not ordinary, the earth of the loweſt and meaneſt people opening upon them, and ſwallowing them up in a juſt diſdain of their ill-gotten, and worſe uſed Authority: upon whoſe ſupport and ſtrength they chiefly depended for their building and eſtabliſhing their deſignes againſt Me, the Church and State.

My chiefeſt comfort in death conſiſts in my peace, which I truſt, is made with GOD; before whoſe exact Tribunall I ſhall not fear to appear, as to the Cauſe ſo long diſputed by the Sword, between me and my cauſeleſe Enemies, where I doubt not but his righteous Judgment will confute their fallacy, who from worldly ſucceſs (rather like Sophiſters, then ſound Chriſtians) draw thoſe popular concluſions for Gods approbation of their actions; whoſe wiſe providence (we know) oft permits many events which his revealed word (the only clear, ſafe, and fixed rule of good actions and good conſciences) in no ſort approves.

I am confident, the juſtice of my Cauſe, and clearneſs of my Conſcience before God, and toward my people, wil carry me as much above them in Gods deciſion, as their Succeſſes have lifted them above me in the Vulgar opinion:

who

who consider not, that many times those undertakings of men are lifted up to heaven in the prosperity and applause of the world, whose rise is from hell, as to the injuriousness and oppression of the design. The prosperous winds which oft fil the sails of Pirats, doth not justifie their piracy and rapine.

I look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soul, to have been worsted in my enforced contestation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the Freedom and Honour of Parliaments, the Rights of my Crown, the just Liberty of my Subjects, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine, Government, and due Encouragements, then if I had, with the greatest advantages of success over-born them all; as some men have now evidently done, whatever designes they at first pretended.

The prayers and patience of my Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the sweetning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I shall more cheerfully take and drink, as from Gods hand (if it must be so) then they can give it to me, whose hands are unjustly and barbarously lifted up against Me.

And as to the last event, I may seem to owe more to my Enemies then my Friends; while those will put a period to the sins and sorrows attending this miserable life, where-

with

with theſe deſire, I might ſtill contend.

I ſhall be more then Conquerour through Chriſt enabling me: for whom *I* have hitherto ſuffered, as he is the Author of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all which *I* have been forced to contend againſt Errour, Faction, and confuſion.

If I muſt ſuffer a violent death with my Saviour; it is but mortality crowned with martyrdom: where the debt of death, which I owe for ſin to nature, ſhall be raiſed as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which *I* humbly beſeech him mercifully to accept; and although death be the wages of my own ſinne, as from God, and the effect of others ſinnes, as men, both againſt God and me; yet as *I* hope my own ſinnes are ſo remitted, that they ſhall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of my death, ſo *I* deſire God to pardon their ſins, who are moſt guilty of my deſtruction.

The Trophees of my charitie will be more glorious and durable over them, then their ill managed victories over me.

Though their ſin be proſperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned: Both which, *I* pray God they may obtain: that my temporal Death unjuſtly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods juſt inflicting eternal death upon them: for *I*

lok

look upon the temporall destruction of the greatest King, as far lesse deprecable then the eternall damnation of the meanest Subject.

Nor do I wish other then the safe bringing of the ship to shore, when they have cast me over-board; though it be very strange, that Mariners can finde no other means to appease the storms themselves have raised, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, my Enemies cruelty cannot prevent my preparation; whose malice in this I shall defeat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroyed my Soul with my Body; of whose salvation, while some of them have themselves seemed, and taught others to despair, they have onely discovered this, that they do not much desire it.

Whose uncharitable and cruell Restraints, denying me even the assistance of any of my Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, then any way obstructed my accesse to the Throne of Heaven,

Where thou dwellest, O King of Kings, who fillest Heaven and Earth, who art the fountain of eternal life, in whom is no shadow of death.

Thou, O God, art both the just Afflicter of death upon us, and the mercifull Saviour of us in it, and from it.

Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our selves, and live in thee; then by living in our selves, to be deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of my death as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy speciall Graces and Comforts in my Soul as a Christian.

If thou Lord wilt be with me, I shall neither fear nor feel any evill, though I walk thorow the valley of the shadow of death.

To contend with death is the work of a weak and mortall man; to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almighty and immortall God.

O my Saviour, who knowest what it is to die with me as a Man; make me to know what it is to passe through death to life with thee my God.

Though I die, yet I know that thou my Redeemer livest for ever: though thou slayest Me, yet thou hast encouraged me to trust in thee for eternal life.

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better then life.

O be not far from me, for I know not how neer a violent and cruel death is to me.

As thy Omniscience, O God, discovers, so thy Omnipotence can defeat the designes of those who have, or shall conspire my destruction.

O shew me the goodnesse of thy will, through the wickednesse of theirs.

Thou

Thou giveſt me leave as a man to pray, that this cup may paſs from me; but thou haſt taught Me as a Chriſtian by the example of Chriſt to add not my will, but thine be done.

Yea Lord, let our wils be one, by wholly reſolving mine into thine: let not the deſire of life in me be ſo great, as that of doing or ſuffering thy wil in either life or death.

As I believe thou haſt forgiven all the errours of my life, ſo I hope thou wilt ſave me from the terrors of my death.

Make me content to leave the worlds nothing, that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who haſt made Chriſt unto me in life, gain; and in death advantage.

Though my d ſtroyers forget their dutie to thee and me, yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to be mercifull to them.

For, what profit is there in my bloud, or in their gaining my Kingdoms, if they loſe their own Souls?

Such as have not onely reſiſted my juſt Power, but wholly uſurped and turned it againſt my ſelf, though they may deſerve, yet let them not receive to themſelves damnation.

Thou madeſt thy Son a Saviour to many that crucified him, while at once he ſuffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.

O let the voice of his bloud be heard for my

Murtherers, louder then the cry of mine against them.

Prepare them for thy mercy by the convictions of their sin, and let them not at once deceive and damne their own souls by fallacious pretensions of Justice in destroying me, while the conscience of their unjust usurpation of power against me, chiefly tempts them to use all extremities against me.

O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies to me as very false, so very cruell, who pretending to preserve me, have meditated nothing but my ruine.

O deal not with them as blond thirsty and deceitfull men; but overcome their cruelty with thy compassion and my charitie.

And when thou makest inquisition for my blood, O sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent Souls with the blond of thy Son, that thy destroying Angel may passe over them.

Though they think my Kingdoms on earth too little to entertain at once both them and me; yet let the capacious Kingdom of thy infinite mercy at last receive both me and my enemies.

When being reconciled to thee in the blond of the same Redeemer, wee shall live far above these ambitious desires, which beget such mortall enmities.

When their hands shall be heavieſt and cruellest

left upon me, O let me fall into the arms of thy tender and eternall mercies.

That what is cut off of my life in this miserable moment, may be repaied in thy ever blessed Eternity.

Lord, let thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ Bella negârunt.

FINIS.

God save the King Or

Memorand Memo

M

M Morsom

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

A
PERFECT COPY OF
PRAYERS,
Used by His
MAJESTIE
in the time of His
SUFFERINGS.

Delivered to Dr. Juxon *Bishop of* London *immediately before his Death.*

And his Speeches to the Lady *Elizabeth* and the Duke of *Gloceſter.*

With

His *Reaſons* againſt the pretended Jurisdiction of the High Court of Juſtice; intended to to be delivered, Munday 22 of *Jann.* 1648.

Alſo,

A Copy of a LETTER from the *PRINCE.*

Printed *Anno Domini* 1649.

God save the King Or

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A PRAYER in time of Captivitie.

O Powerfull and Eternall God! to whom nothing is so great, that it may resist; or so small, that it is contemned; look upon my miserie with thine eye of mercy, and let Thine infinite power vouchsafe to limit out some proportion of deliverance unto me, as to Thee shall seem most convenient: let not Injurie, O Lord, triumph over me; and let my faults by thy hand be corrected; and make not my unjust Enemies the ministers of thy Justice: But yet my God, if in thy Wisdom this be the aptest chastisement for my unexcusable transgressions; if this ingratefull bondage be fittest for my over-high deserts; if the pride of my (not enough humble) heart be thus to be broken, O Lord, I yeeld unto thy will, and cheerfully embrace what sorrow thou wilt have me suffer: Onely thus much let me crave of thee, (let my craving, O Lord, be accepted of, since it even proceeds from thee) That by thy Goodnesse, which is thy Self, thou wilt suffer some beam of thy Majestie so to shine in my minde, that I, who in my greatest Afflictions acknowlede it my noblest Title to be thy Creature, may still depend confidently on Thee. Let Calamity be the exercise, but not the overthrow of my Ve-

tue. O let not their prevailing power be to my destruction. And if it be thy will that they more and more vex me with punishment; yet O Lord, never let their wickedness have such a hand, but that I may still carry a pure mind, and stedfast resolution ever to serve thee without fear or presumption; yet with that humble Confidence which may best please thee; so that at the last I may come to thy eternall Kingdom through the merits of thy Son our alone Saviour, Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

Another PRAYER.

ALmightie and most merciful Father, look down upon me thy unworthy servant, who here prostrate my self at the Foot-stool of thy Throne of Grace; but look upon me, O Father, through the Mediation, and in the Merits of Jesus Christ, in whom thou art only wel pleased: for of my Self I am not worthy to stand before thee, or to speak with my unclean lips to thee, most holy and eternall God; for as in sin I was conceived and born, so likewise I have broken all thy Commandments by my sinful motions, unclean thoughts, evill words, and wicked works; omitting many duties I ought to do, and committing many vices which thou hast forbidden under pain of thy heavie

heavie Displeasure: as for my sins, O Lord, they are innumerable: wherefore I stand here liable to all the miseries in this life, and everlasting Torments in that to come, if thou shouldst deal with me according to my deserts. I confesse, O Lord, that it is thy Mercie (which endureth for ever) and thy compassion (which never fails) which is the cause that I have not been long ago consumed: but with thee there is Mercie and plenteous Redemption; in the multitude therefore of thy mercies, and by the Merits of Jesus Christ, I intreat thy Divine Majestie, that thou wouldst not enter into judgment with thy servant, nor be extreme to mark what is done amisse, but be thou mercifull unto Me, and wash away all my sins with that precious bloud that my Saviour shed for me. And I beseech thee, O Lord, not onely to wash away all my sins; but also to purge my heart by thy holy Spirit, from the drosse of my natural corruption: And as thou dost add days to my life, so good Lord, I beseech thee to add repentance to my dayes, that when I have past this mortall life, I may be partaker of thy everlasting Kingdom, through the Merits of Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

A PRAYER *and* CONFESSION *made in and for the times of Affliction.*

ALmighty and moſt mercifull Father, as it is onely thy Goodneſſe that admits of our imperfect Prayers, and the knowledge that thy mercies are infinite, which can give Us any hope of thy accepting or granting them: ſo it is our bounden and neceſſary duty to confeſſe our ſins freely unto thee; And of all men living, I have moſt need, moſt reaſon ſo to do; no man having been ſo much obliged by thee, no man more grievouſly offending thee: that degree of knowledge which thou haſt given me adding likewiſe to the guilt of my tranſgreſſions. For, was it through ignorance, that I ſuffered innocent bloud to be ſhed by a falſe pretended way of Juſtice? or that I permitted a wrong way of thy Worſhip to be ſet up in *Scotland*? and injured the Biſhops in *England*? O no; but with ſhame and grief I confeſſe, that I therein followed the perſwaſions of worldly Wiſdome, forſaking the Dictates of a right-informed Conſcience: Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuſe to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of thy mercies; for I know my repentance weak, and my prayers faulty: Grant therefore, mercifull Father,

ſo

so to strengthen my repentance, and amend my prayers, that thou maist clear the way for thine own mercies; to which, O let thy Justice at last give place, putting a speedy end to my deserved afflictions. In the mean time, give me patience to endure, Constancy against Temptations, and a discerning spirit, to chuse what is best for thy Church, and People which thou hast committed to my charge. Grant this, O most merciful Father, for thy Son Jesus Christs sake, our onely Saviour, *Amen.*

A PRAYER *in time of imminent Danger.*

O Most merciful Father, though my sins are so many and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of thy anger, then so great a deliverance, as to free me from my present great danger; yet, O Lord, since thy mercies are over all thy works, and thou never failest to relieve all those who with humble and unfeigned repentance come to thee for succour, it were to multiply, not diminish my transgressions, to despair of thy heavenly favour: Wherefore I humbly desire thy divine Majestie, That thou wilt not onely pardon all my sins; but also free me out of the hands, and protect me from the malice of my cruel Enemies. But

if

f Thy wrath againſt my hainous Offences will not otherwayes be ſatisfied, then by ſuffering Me to fall under my preſent afflictions, Thy will be done; yet with humble Importunity, I do and ſhall never leave to implore the aſſiſtance of thy heavenly Spirit, that my cauſe, as I am thy Vicegerent may not ſuffer through My weakneſs, or want of courage. O Lord, ſo ſtrengthen and enlighten all the faculties of My mind, that with clearneſſe I may ſhew forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloody Tryal, that ſo my ſufferings here may not onely glorifie Thee, but likewiſe be a furtherance to my ſalvation hereafter. Grant this, O mercifull Father, for his ſake who ſuffered for me, even Jeſus Chriſt the Righteous. *Amen.*

A Copie of a Letter which was sent from the PRINCE to the KING; Dated from the HAGUE *Jan.* 23. 1648.

SIR,

HAving no means to come to the knowledge of your Majesties present condition, but such as I receive from the Prints, or (which is as uncertain) Report, I have sent this Bearer Seamour *to wait upon your Majestie; and to bring me an account of it: that I may withall assure your Majestie, I doe not onely pray for your Majestie according to my Dutie, but shall alwayes be ready to doe all which shall be in my power, to deserve that blessing which I now humbly beg of your Majestie upon*

(SIR)

HAGUE *Jan.* 23. 1648.

Your MAJESTIES *most humble and most obedient Son & servant*

CHARLS.

The Superscription was thus,

For the King.

Munday 29th January, 1648.

A true Relation of the KINGS Speech to the Lady ELISABETH, *and the Duke of* GLOCESTER, *the day before His Death.*

HIs children being come to meet him, he first gave his blessing to the Lady *Elisabeth*; and bad her remember to tell her Brother *James*, when ever she should see him, That it was his Fathers last desire, that he should no more look upon *Charles* as his eldest Brother only, but be obedient unto him, as his Soveraign; and that they should love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies. Then said the King to her, Sweet-heart you'l forget this: No (said she) *I* shall never forget it while I live: And pouring forth abundance of Tears, promised him to write down the Paticulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of *Glocester* upon his knee, said, Sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy Fathers head; (upon which words the child looked very stedfastly on him.) Mark child, what I say, they will cut of my head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I say, you must not be a King so long as your Brother *Charles* and *James* do live; For they will cut off your Brothers heads, (when they

can

can catch them) and cut off thy head too at the last: and therefore, *I* charge you, do not be made a King by them. At which the child, sighing, said, I will be torn in pieces first. Which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

Another Relation from the Lady ELISABETHS *own Hand.*

WHat the king said to me the nine and twentieth of *January* 1648. being the last time I had the happiness to see him; he told me, he was glad I was come, and although he had not time to say much, yet somewhat he had to say to me, which he had not to another, or leave in writing, because he feared their cruelty was such, as that they would not have permitted him to write to me, he wished me not to grieve and torment my self for him; for that would be a glorious death that he should dye; it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Protestant Religion. He bad me read Bishop *Andrews* Sermons, *Hookers Ecclesiasticall Politie*, and Bishop *Lauds* Book against *Fisher*, which would ground me against Popery. He told me, he had forgiven all his Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them also; and com-

commanded us, and all the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters to forgive them: he bid me tell my Mother, That his thoughts never had ſtrayed from her, and that his love ſhould be the ſame to the laſt. Withall he commanded me and my Brother to be obedient to her. And bid me ſend his bleſſing to the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters, with Commendation to all His Friends: So after he had given me his bleſſing, I took my leave.

Further, he commanded us all to forgive thoſe people, but never to truſt them; for they had been moſt falſe to him, and to thoſe that gave them power, and he feared alſo to their own ſouls; And deſired me not to grieve for him, for he ſhould die a Martyr, and that he doubted not but the Lord would ſettle his Throne upon his Son, and that we ſhould be all happier, then we could have expected to have been, if he had lived: With many other things, which at preſent I cannot remember.

ELISABETH.

Another Relation from the Lady Eliſabeth.

THe King ſaid to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, that he would ſay nothing to him but what was for the good of his ſoul: he told him, that he heard that the Army intended to make

make him King; but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his soul; for he had two Brothers before him: and therefore commanded him upon His blessing, never to accept of it, unless it redowned lawfully upon him: And commanded him to fear the Lord, and he would provide for him. *Copia vera.*

An Epitaph *upon King* CHARLS.

SO falls that stately Cedar: while it stood
That was the onely glory of the Wood:
Great *Charles*, thou earthly God, celestial *Man*,
Whose life, like others, though it were a span:
Yet in that span, was comprehended more
Then Earth hath waters, or the Ocean shore;
Thy heavenly vertues, Angels shou'd rehearse,
It is a theam too high for humane Verse:
He that would know thee right, then let him look
Upon Thy rare incomparable Book,
And read it o're & o're; which if he do,
Hee'l find thee *king, and Priest, and Prophet too*:
And sadly see our losse, and though in vain,
With fruitlesse wishes, call thee back again.
Nor shall oblivion sit upon thy Herse, (Verse.
Though there were neither Monument, nor
Thy Suffrings & thy Death let no man name,
It was thy Glorie, but the Kingdoms Shame.

I. H.

His Majesties Reasons against the pretended Jurisdiction of the High Court of Justice, which he intended to deliver in writing on Munday January 22. 1648.

Faithfully transcribed out of the originall Copie under the Kings own hand.

HAving already made my protestationsnot only against the illegality of this pretended Court, but also that no earthly power can justly call me (who am your King) in question as a Delinquent, *I* would not any more open my mouth upon this occasion, more then to refer my selfe to what I have spoken, were I alone in this case concerned. But the duty I owe to God in the preservation of the true Liberty of my People, will not suffer me at this time to be silent: For, how can any free-born Subject of England call life or any thing he possesseth his own, if power without right daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamentall Law of the Land, which I now take to be the present case. Wherefore when I came hither, I expected that you would have indeavoured to have satisfied me concerning these grounds, which hinder me to Answer to your pretended Impeachment, but since I see that nothing I can say will move you to it (though

Negatives

Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot judge me, nor indeed the meanest man in England; for I will not (like you) without shewing a reason, seek to impose a belief upon My Subjects.

Hereabout I was stopt, and not suffered to speake any more concerning Reasons.

There is no proceeding just against any man, but what is warranted either by Gods Laws, or the municipall Lawes of the Country where he lives. Now I am most confident, that this daies proceeding cannot be warranted by Gods Law, for on the contrary the authority of obedience unto Kings is cleerly warranted and strictly commanded both in the Old and New Testament; which if denied, I am ready to prove: and for the question now in hand, there it is said, That *where the Word of a King is, there is Power, and who may say unto him, what doest thou?* *Eccles.* 8. 4. Then for the Lawes of this land, I am no lesse confident, that no learned Lawyer will affirme that an impeachment can lie against the King, they all going in his name; and one of their Maximes is, *that the King can do no wrong*. Besides, the law upon which you ground your proceedings, must either be old or new; if old, shew it; if new, tell what authority warranted by the fundamentall Laws of the land hath made it,

it, and when. But how the Houſe of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it ſelf (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the World to judge; And it were full as ſtrange that they ſhould pretend to make Laws without King or Lords-Houſe, to any that have heard ſpeak of the Lawes of England.

And admitting, but not granting, that the people of Englands Commiſſion could grant your pretended Power, I ſee nothing you can ſhew for that; for certainly you never asked the queſtion of the tenth man of the Kingdom, and in this way you manifeſtly wrong even the pooreſt Plough-man, if you demand not his free conſent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commiſſion without the conſent at leaſt of the major part of every man in England, of whatſoever quality or condition, which I am ſure, you never went about to to ſeek; ſo far are you from having it. Thus you ſee that I ſpeak not for my own right alone, as I am your King, but alſo for the true Liberty of all my Subjects, which conſiſts not in ſharing the power of Government, but in living under ſuch Laws, ſuch a Government as may give themſelves the beſt aſſurance of their lives and propriety of their goods. Nor in this muſt or do I forget the priviledges of both Houſes of Parliament, which this dayes proceed-

proceedings doth not only violate, but likewiſe occaſion the greateſt breach of their Publike Faith that (I beleeve) ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging the two houſes: for all the pretended crimes laid againſt me, bear date long before this late Treaty at Newport, in which I having concluded as much as in me lay, and hopefully expecting the two Houſes agreement thereunto, I was ſuddenly ſurprized, and hurried from thence as a Priſoner, upon which accompt I am againſt my will brought hither, where ſince I am come, I cannot but to my power defend the ancient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, together with my own juſt Right; then for any thing I can ſee the higher houſe is totally excluded.

And for the Houſe of Commons, it is too well known that the major part of them are detained or deterr'd from ſitting, ſo as if I had no other, this were ſufficient for me to proteſt againſt the lawfulneſſe of your pretended Court. Beſides all this, the peace of the Kingdom is not the leaſt in my thoughts; and what hopes of ſettlement is there ſo long as power raignes without rule of Law, changing the whole frame of that government under which this Kingdom hath flouriſhed for many hundred years, (nor will I ſay what will fall out in caſe this lawleſſe unjuſt proceeding againſt me do go on) & beleeve it the Commons of England

[illegible] will [illegible] thanke you for this [illegible] they will remember how happy [illegible] of late years under the raign of [illegible] the King my Father and my self, [illegible] the beginning of these unhappy troubles, and will have cause to doubt that they shall never be so happy under any new. And by this time it will be too sensibly evident, that the Armes I took up were only to defend the fundamentall Laws of this Kingdom, against those who have supposed my power hath totally changed the ancient Government.

Thus having shewed you briefly the Reasons, why I cannot submit to your pretended authority without violating the trust which I have from God, for the welfare and liberty of my people; I expect from you either clear Reasons to convince my Judgment, shewing me that I am in an error (and then truly I will readily answer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

This I intended to speake in Westminster-Hall on Monday 22. January, but against reason was hindered to shew my Reasons.

FINIS.